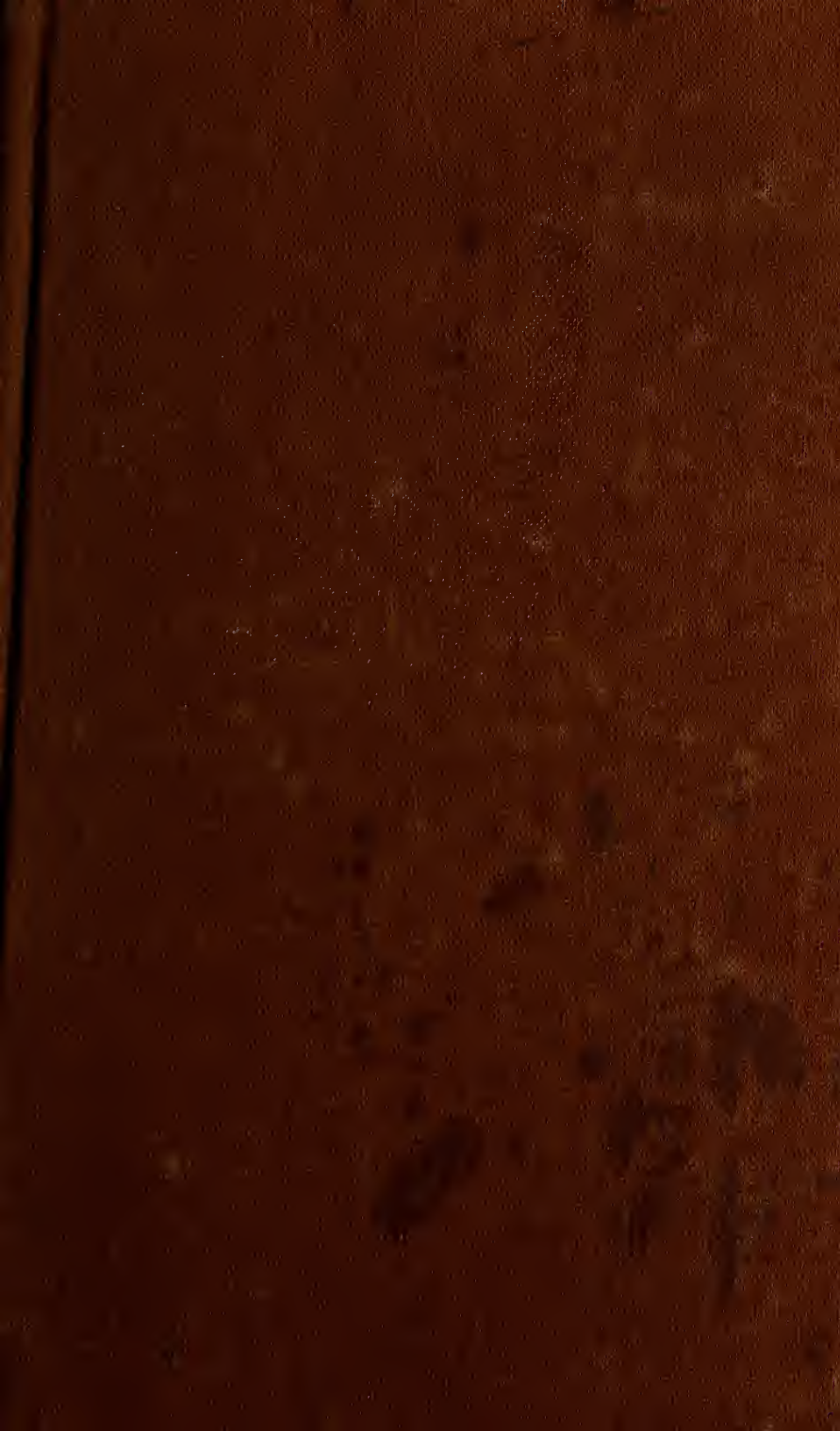




DK131
.B21

1/14/97



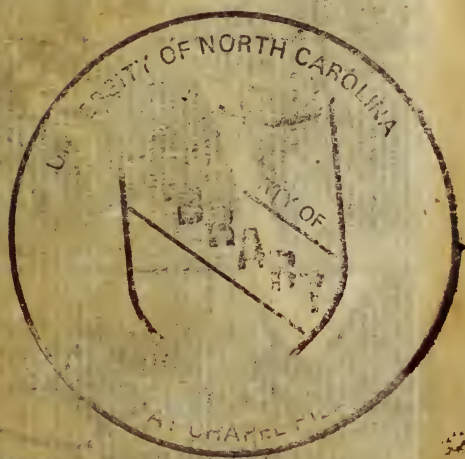
10001656762

This book is due at the WALTER R. DAVIS LIBRARY on the last date stamped under "Date Due." If not on hold it may be renewed by bringing it to the library.

[illegible]



X17
B2





PETER the GREAT

CZAR of MUSCOVY

Tho: Leuty sculp.

Joseph A NEW *Cator*
1756
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and REIGN

DX13
B2

OF THE CZAR
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of ALL RUSSIA,
And FATHER of His COUNTRY.

Giving an exact relation of

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. His travels, studies, and personal fatigues, for the attaining of knowledge in civil and military affairs, and the improvement of his subjects. | III. His wars with the Swedes, Turks, Tartars, and Persians; victories by sea and land; acquisitions of territory, and increase of power |
| II. His introduction of arts and sciences, a naval force, and commerce with foreign nations: also his many reformatations in church and State, the army, and the customs and manners of his people. | IV. His regard to genius and merit, particularly in the instances of General Le Fort, Prince Menzikoff, and the Empress Catharine: and his severe justice on offenders, exemplified in the proceedings against the Czarewitz, and others. |

To which is prefixed,

A chronological summary of the history of Russia, a political view of the constitution, and geographical description of that vast Empire.

The whole compiled from authentic memoirs, and containing many particulars that were never before collected together.

By the author of the critical review of the political life of OLIVER CROMWELL.

Isaac Kimber

Printed in the Year, MDCCLIV.

YDmW



P R E F A C E.

IF ever there was a man whose actions deserved a particular history, it was Peter I. Emperor of Russia. The historian of the late King of Sweden, when he says that Charles XII. and Peter Alexiowitz were the most extraordinary persons that have been known for many ages, allows the latter to be far the greater man of the two.----The one had indeed much to be admired, little to be imitated ; the other will be a subject of wonder to all mankind, and a pattern of imitation to every Prince who aims to be truly great.

But neither does the business of human life permit, or our natural curiosity require, to read over all the circumstances of the most illustrious life, in order to form an idea of the person. Contemporaries may be pleased to view these particulars as they rise, but must wish, when the actions are over, to take a retrospect of them in a narrower compass, and not for ever to have recourse to a journal. This will hold good at least in general ; and for those who are of a contrary opinion, there were histories of the Czar Peter already in print in their own taste, when we ventured to publish one more adapted to ours. If the merit of Compiling gave a sanction to transcriptions in one particular, we thought that of Abridging might do it to extracts in another. But we were mistaken in the sense of the word Abridgment, which we are informed, from unquestionable authority, does not signify merely to reduce into less compass, but at the same time to give a new form. Had we known this before, our proceedings had not been liable to censure ; and we now willingly acquiesce in a determination, that may at least, on other occasions, be of as much service to us as to those who procured it.

The public itself, we venture to say, will be no loser by what has been done. It has now in

P R E F A C E.

reality a new history, in a great measure written from new materials, and containing many particulars which were not in our former, nor in any life of the Czar Peter that has yet come to our hands. This indeed is the whole of the question, in which the world has any concern; and as we were obliged to say something of the dispute which put a stop to the sale of what we had before printed, it is but justice to ourselves to declare, that we have endeavoured to make it some amends.

M. de Fontenelle's admirable oration, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, in memory of his Imperial colleague, is undoubtedly the best summary of his life that has ever appeared. We have translated this almost entirely, made it the text or ground-work of our history, and done little more, in many places, than build upon it those circumstances for which it gave us a foundation. But the business of war was thought foreign to his subject by our eloquent academician, who considered the legislator more than the conqueror. This obliged us to have recourse to other helps for the Czar's military history, which are usually referred to at the bottom of the page. We have even quoted a monthly journal in some of the longest descriptions, as in the battles of Lezna and Pultowa, and a few other particulars; not so much for the reputation of the book referred to, as to shew that we and our opposers are but equally copyists. Where indeed can there be more authentic accounts of such actions, than in the relations of those concerned in them, to the use of which every one has an equal right?

Tho' the actions of M. de Voltaire's hero and ours are frequently interwoven together, we have yet spared that ingenious gentleman more than might have been expected. His history has long been known and esteemed in English; for which reason we have usually been most concise where he has mostly enlarged; particularly in the affairs of Poland.

land. We can hardly think we have omitted any other book that was consulted by those who have gone before us in this track, and the reader will find some referred to by us, which apparently they never saw.

The first book is only an introduction to the rest; but such an introduction as we presume the whole will be the better for. After running thro' that, the reader will be acquainted with the country he travels in, and the people he converses with; which he could otherwise know only in part, and from accidental circumstances. The brief recapitulation of the Czar's establishments, and the short view of his character, which we have drawn together at the end from several authors, and a little reflection on the history, is at least so far a necessary part of this work, that we have the example of most other writers of lives to bear us out, and we do not remember above one that has quite omitted every thing of that nature,

The following terms not being explained in the body of the book, I shall give the sense of them here.

Batoags. A sort of punishment, in which the criminal is laid flat on his face, with his back all bare, and his legs and arms extended; when two persons whip him with battocks, which are sticks as thick as a man's little finger, keeping time like smiths, till the party who inflicts the sentence says it is enough.

Knout. A punishment never inflicted but in consequence of a formal trial, or by command of some great man. The knout is a hard leather thong about 3 foot and a half in length, fastened to the end of a stick 2 foot and a half, with which the hangman, or Knoutavoit master, strikes the offender upon his bare back, as often as the judge commands. The criminal is horfed like one of our school-boys.

Pine.

P R E F A C E.

Pine. A severe way of giving the knout, when a man's hands are tied together behind his body, and he is drawn up by a rope fixed to them, a weight at the same time hanging on his feet, till his shoulders turn out of joint: and in this position the executioner scourges him according to his sentence. After this, in capital cases, the person's raw back is sometimes roasted over slow fires.

Rubel. This was formerly an imaginary coin, consisting of 100 copecks, or about nine shillings English. The Czar Peter had rubels coined, whose value cannot be certainly fixed, because of their frequent variations. In captain Perry's time a rubel was worth 8 s. 4 d. English, or 100 English pence.

Werst. A measure of longitude, containing 3504 English feet, or about two thirds of an English mile. They reckon 80 of these wersts to a geographical degree, and four to a league.

The CONTENTS, chronologically digested.

Book I. Introductory to the Czar Peter's life, 1

An abridgment of the History of Russia to the accession of Peter Alexiowitz. The character and manners of the Russians, and a view of their government, civil and ecclesiastical, at that time. A geographical description of the whole Empire, as it was left to the Czar Peter I.

Book II. To the taking of Asoph from the Turks 44

The Czar born, An. 1672—Proclaimed, 1682—At war with the Tartars, 1687, 1689—married, shuts up his sister in a monastery, and punishes her confederates, 1689—Enters in Le Fort's company. Has a son born, 1690—Takes Menzikoff into favour, 1691—visits the ships at Archangel, 1694, 1695—Begins to build some at Veronitz. Becomes sole monarch, 1696—Takes Kasikermeen, 1695—and Asoph in a second siege, 1696.

Book III. To the breaking out of the war with Sweden 78

Enters Moscow in triumph at the beginning of 1697.—The same year sets out on his travels, and in that and the next visits Germany, England, Holland, and Poland—represses a rebellion, and exterminates the Strelitzes, 1698—Regulates his revenues, reforms the habits, and retrenches the beards of his people, ib. 1699—Abolishes the patriarchal authority, introduces the christian A Era, and makes several other regulations, 1700

Book IV. To the building of Petersburg 116

Besiges Narva, where his army is defeated, 1700—Invades Livonia, 1701—conquers Ingria, and makes great progress in Lithuania, Livonia, and Finland, 1702 falls in love with Catharine, ib.—Builds Petersburg and Cronslot, 1703, & seq.

Book V. To the victory at Pultowa, 151

Drives the Swedes out of Courland; made a Colonel in his own army, 1705—His troops win the battle of Calish, 1706—He goes into Poland, and remains

C O N T E N T S.

remains master there, 1707—Retires before the King of Sweden, whom he leads into great streights, and beats General Leuwenhaupt at Lezno, 1708--At the battle of Pultowa, takes or destroys almost the whole Swedish army, 1709.

Book VI. To his first naval triumph, 206

Triumphs for the victory at Pultowa. Receives satisfaction for the affront to his ambassador in England. Becomes master of Livonia, the neighbouring islands, and part of Finland. Embroiled with the Turks, 1710—Surrounded and distressed in Moldavia, but obtains a peace by the Czarina's prudence. Marries his son, 1711—Marries the Czarina publickly, and renews peace with the Turks, 1712—Takes Frederickstadt and Abo, wins the battle of Pulkona, 1713---Obtains a victory at sea, 1714.

Book VII. To the death of the Czarewitz 262

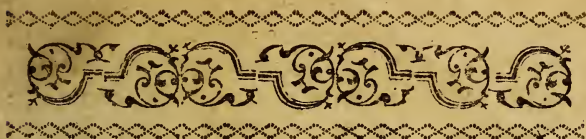
Institutes the order of St. Catharine, 1714.----Punishes several of his ministers. His family increased with a son and a grandson, 1715--commands the fleets of four nations. Grows cold in the alliance. Neglects the descent on Schonen, 1716.--In this and the next year travels thro' Denmark, Holland, France, Germany, &c. Comes into baron Gortz's scheme.---Negotiates privately with the King of Sweden. Tries his son, and punishes severely his accomplices, 1718.

Book VIII. To the end of his Majesty's reign,

316

Grievously harrasses the Swedes. Quarrels with the King of Great-Britain. Wins another sea victory. Makes overtures for peace, 1719, 1720.---Obtains a peace on his own terms, when deserted by his allies, complimented with new titles, 1721.--Settles the succession. Makes considerable conquests on Persia, and takes a chart of the Caspian-Sea, 1722--Embroiled with the Turks. Establishes peace on all sides, 1723.--Crowns the Empress Catharine. Betrothes his daughter, 1724. Dies, 1725.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK I.

An abridgment of the History of Muscovy, till the Accession of Peter the Great. The character and manners of the Russians, and a view of their government, Civil and Ecclesiastical, at that time. A Geographical description of the whole Empire, as it was left to the Czar Peter.

IT will be impossible to give a tolerable idea of the Czar Peter's character, and the many titles he had to the appellation of Great, without first taking a view of what the Muscovites before were, as well the Princes as the people; without surveying the face of his Empire, which his predecessors had indeed made the most extensive on
* B earth,

earth but left him to render powerful, flourishing, polite, by making more important acquisitions than they had ever thought of, by introducing commerce and the arts of life, by giving birth to the sciences; and all that is perfective and ornamental of human nature.

Muscovy,
its names. Muscovy, except that part of it which borders on Great Tartary, and belonged to Asiatic Sarmatia, was antiently a part of Sarmatia Europaea. It was so called from the river Moscha, or the Moschi, a people of Colchis, who inhabited near the source of the river Phasis. Russia, its other name, comes either from the word Rossa, which in their language signifies *collected together*, because of the diversity of nations, with which it was peopled; or from Russ, (the brother of Lech and Czech, from whom the Poles and Bohemians derive their origin) who was the reputed founder of this monarchy.

Sovereigns
Igor. Igor, the son of Rurich, extended its limits: and Suatilaus, Igor's son and successor, pushed his conquests to the Black-sea, and in all probability would have carried them farther, had not death surprised him in the midst of his victories.

Suatilaus

Wolodimer Wolodimer, the natural son of Suatilaus, having put to death his brother Jeropolch, and Rochuologd Prince of Pleskow, obtained the sovereignty of all Russia, and assumed the title of Great Duke. He married Anne, the sister of Constantine and Basil Emperors of the east; renounced idolatry in the year 987, and introduced the Christian religion after the Grecian rite; and at his death divided the provinces of his Empire, leaving as many Dukes behind him as sons.

His successors. The sovereigns of Wolodimer, Novogrod, and Kiow, becoming by their power obnoxious to the rest, a bloody war ensued amongst them, which gave the Tartars an opportunity of invading their territories, and imposing a tribute on most of these petty Princes. The most mortifying articles of their submission was that the Russian Duke should

Made tributary to the Tartars.

should feed the cham of Tartary's horse out of his own cap: and besides that, the city of Moscow was to send him annually a thousand habits made of fine skins. But the Duke John, son of Basil *the Blind*, shook off this shameful servitude in the year 1500, by the advice of his wife Sophia Palaeologa: after which reuniting all Muscovy under his dominion, he got himself acknowledged sole monarch of Russia.

*John Basil-
liowitz I.*

John dying in 1504, his son Gabriel succeeded him by the name of Basil. This Prince made himself master of the countries bordering on the frozen sea, recovered the province of Pleskow from the Poles, and took with it the Dutchies of Smolensko and Severia. He was the first that assumed the title of Czar. But suffering a defeat from the Tartars of Casan, who even sacked the city of Moscow, it touched him so sensibly that he died of grief in the year 1533.

*Basil Iva-
nowitz.*

John Basilowitz II. succeeded his father, conquered part of Livonia, the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, and several provinces on the frontiers of Persia, along the Caspian Sea. He first composed a body of laws, the Russians having none before but the will of their Sovereigns; and might have been ranked among the greatest of Princes, but for the inhumanity of his temper, which procured him the surname of Tyrant. He died in 1584, beloved by very few, but dreaded by all, both at home and abroad. Of two sons whom he had by his wife Anastasia, the eldest, John, died with grief in his father's lifetime, on account of his being struck by him one day with a cudgel. Theodore, the other, inherited the Empire, without any of the virtues of a Prince. There was a third son by another venter, the unfortunate Demetrius.

*John Basil-
liowitz II.
The Ty-
rant.*

Theodore.

Boris Godenow, Great Chamberlain of Muscovy, having married his sister to the Czar Theodore, obtained such an ascendant over his master, and raised such a number of creatures by the distribution

*Boris
Godenow,
his In-
trigues.*

*Destroys
Prince De-
metrius.*

*And the
Czar Theo-
dore :*

*Whom he
succeeds.*

of places, which were wholly at his command ; that, having great abilities as well as unlimited power, and reflecting that the Czar had no issue, he projected the design of procuring the crown for himself: in order to which, his first care was to get rid of Prince Demetrius, the Czar's half brother, and presumptive heir to the Empire, who was then nine years old. This he accomplished by gaining over the chief of the young Prince's domesticks, who assassinated him at Uglitz, the place of his residence, during the confusion of a terrible fire, which consumed almost that whole city. As wicked men usually conceal one crime by the commission of another, Boris got all the instruments of his cruelty destroyed by other assassins, and soon after poisoned Theodore himself. This Prince, the last of the race of Rurich, was cut off in the year 1597.

There being no immediate claimant, it was not difficult for the prime minister, who had already long governed with absolute authority, to ascend the vacant throne. He prudently foresaw, however, that he should not be able to keep the dignity he had usurped, without a management equally artful as that by which he had acquired it. He shut up in separate convents the two brothers, Nikite and Theodore Romanow, uncles, by the mother's side, of the murdered Demetrius, and own brothers of John Basiliowitz the tyrant's last wife; obliging them both to take orders, and the latter, who had been married, and was forced from his wife, to change his name to Philaret. He lessened the taxes on the populace, encreased the prerogatives of the nobility, and gave privileges to the merchants, in hopes at once to augment the riches, and win over the affections of his subjects. But all his precaution could not secure him from the misfortunes that are usually the lot of usurpers; for his refined policy was disconcerted in a very unexpected

pected manner, by an instrument the most unlikely that could be imagined.

One Griska, or Friska Otropeia, a young fellow; of a good family indeed, but in no better capacity than that of a monk, having been thrust into the monastery of Trinouka by his parents on account of his extravagancies, had given over all thoughts of the world, and resolved to make an advantage of necessity, by living calmly and contentedly in his present confinement. But a politic old father of the same monastery, who was a secret enemy of the Great Duke Boris, observing the beauty of Friska's person and mien, the excellency of his wit, and the natural vivacity of his temper, resolved to make use of him against the usurper, whom he saw with indignation on the throne of Russia. He got intimate with the young monk, instructed him concerning the Muscovite government, the present posture of affairs at Court, the particulars of the Czarian family, and especially the artifices by which Boris had acquired the sovereignty: and having fully informed him of these matters, and of the manner he should proceed in to get himself acknowledged for Prince Demetrius, brother of the Czar Theodore, he sent him to Kiow, and got him taken into the service of Prince Adam Wisnowieski, there to wait for a favourable opportunity to open the scene. Mean time the Father himself took care to have it whispered about, that Demetrius, son of the great John Basiliowitz II. was yet alive: that his mother, having notice of Boris's design, had sent him away from Uglitz with only one gentleman, and put in his place the son of a Russian priest, about the same age and size: that the young Prince had taken refuge at Wisnowieski's Court, whence he would soon set out with a powerful army, to take vengeance on the usurper.

Whilst this report was getting wind in Muscovy, Otropeia had the good fortune to rise in his master's favour, who advanced him to be gentleman of his

*The first
counterfeit
Demetrius*

*Declares
his Preten-
sions to
Prince
Wisnow-
ieski :*

bed-chamber. In short, he had soon insinuated himself so far in the Prince's confidence, that he thought it high time to open the important secret. One day, when the Prince had passionately chid him for a fault, Friska, with a most composed countenance, replied, that if his Highness knew who he was, he would not use him in that manner. Wisnowieski's attention was instantly raised, and the impostor took care to engage it by owning himself to be Prince Demetrius, and relating how Boris would have sacrificed him to his ambition, but for the stratagem of his mother. *I put myself, says he, into your service, as well for present security, as to merit your assistance against the usurper, who has robbed me of my estates.* And the more to strengthen what he said, he shewed the Prince a crucifix, richly adorned with precious stones, which he told him was put about his neck at the time of his baptism. All this was confirmed by the rumour which the old monk had already spread, and which the populace were willing enough to believe.

*Who pro-
tests him ;*

Boris took the alarm ; and as his crimes gave him reason to be apprehensive of the consequences, he forgot no artifice to prevent them. He sent couriers to Wisnowieski, made him very considerable offers, and even engaged for the cession of certain provinces, if he would deliver up to him Demetrius, dead or alive. But that Prince, who regarded his honour more than his interest, rejected these advantageous proposals ; and to remove the young Czarewitz from all danger, he sent him

*And sends
him to the
palatine of
Sendomir :*

to George Mnizeck palatine of Sendomir, his intimate friend, who received him with all imaginable respect. No sooner was the impostor at the court of this nobleman, but beginning to reflect upon the oddness of his adventure, and the uncertainty of a continued success, he resolved to secure some establishment for life, in case fortune or his friends should hereafter abandon his enterprize. Marina, the Palatine's daughter, was a young lady of most exquis-

exquisite beauty, and Demetrius was smitten with her at first sight: he thought it adviseable, therefore, to lay hold of a beautiful mistress and a rich heiress at the same time; demanded her of the father in the most passionate terms, and found no obstruction to his wishes. Dazzled with the thought of his daughter's grandeur, in case she came to be Empress, the Palatine engaged all his friends in the interest of the young Moscovite; and having great authority in the senate, he brought over most of the Polish nobility. King Sigismund permitted him to raise forces in his dominions, and Demetrius soon saw himself at the head of a considerable army, with which entering Muscovy, he reduced several cities to his obedience. He was already advanced beyond Krom, when news was brought him that Boris had died suddenly, having, as was thought, destroyed himself by poison; that the populace had placed his son Fedor, aged only sixteen years, on the throne, and constituted his mother Empress regent during his minority; and that the nobility had declared in his favour, and acknowledged him for sovereign. This obliged Demetrius to march with all expedition towards Moscow, to secure that capital; the inhabitants of which threw open their gates, received him with acclamations of joy, and, as if every thing had conspired at once to his felicity, delivered up to him Fedor and his mother, who were both strangled.

Whose daughter the Impostor marries;

And enters Moscovy with an army. The death of Boris.

Demetrius received into Moscow.

The impostor, now in peaceable possession of the Empire, caused himself to be crowned by the patriarch, with the usual solemnities, on the 21st of July 1605. His coronation was followed by that of his wife Marina; and he even brought to court the mother of the true Demetrius, whom Boris had confined in a convent; appeared before her amidst a numerous assembly, gave her apartments in the castle, and treated her with the utmost magnificence. She, in return, acknowledged him for her son, tho' she knew him to be an impostor. He then

then applied himself to the affairs of government, and gave presages of a happy reign. He set at liberty all whom Boris Godenow had imprisoned, made Theodore Romanow archbishop of Rostow, and shewed great favour to all the Imperial family. But how difficult is it for imposture to be long concealed, or a crown to be usurped with impunity ! Demetrius, overcome with his good fortune, betrayed himself by his incontinence and debauchery. He left the management of affairs to his ministers, plunged headlong into the pursuit of pleasure, and thought of nothing more than gratifying his passions by all manner of ways. His extravagant expences, which he could not support but by the oppression of his subjects, rendered him odious to all mankind. The principal kneez and boyars, provoked at the pride and haughtiness of Marina, who was the accomplice of all her husband's crimes, and the affront which Demetrius put on them, by leaving the government to his Polish favourites, who attempted to introduce the Romish religion, came into the conspiracy of Basil Suiski, descended from the great Dukes of Muscovy by the Dukes of Susedal. They forced the palace in the night, May the 17th, 1606, and entered the Czar's bed-chamber ; who thinking to escape by throwing himself out of a window, was taken up, and after the Empress dowager had disowned him for her son, protesting that she before acknowledged him only to be revenged on Boris for the cruelties he had exercised in her family, Suiski dispatched him with a pistol. Marina, with her father and brother, were put into prison, and this revolution cost the lives of above 1700 persons, who had been in the usurper's interest.

*Runs into
excess.*

*Is assassi-
nated by
Suiski,*

*Who as-
cends the
throne.*

*Another
Demetrius*

Suiski was immediately proclaimed Emperor, and took possession of the throne on the first day of June. But scarcely was he installed, before Demetrius was again brought upon the stage. It was given out that he made his escape under favour of a dark

a dark night, and that another man, clerk to one of the secretaries of State, had been pistol'd in his place. The Poles supported this new pretender, who was a fellow of mean birth: they gave him troops, with which he got possession of several considerable cities. Marina came to him in his camp, embraced him in sight of the army, and acknowledged him for her husband; hoping by that means to preserve the rank and title of Empress. After a bloody war, which lasted three years, Suiski was deprived of his crown, shut up in a cloister, and afterwards in the castle of Gostynin in Poland, where he died. As for the impostor Demetrius, he was assassinated at Coluga by the Tartars; and the ambitious Marina was thrown into a river, together with her son.

Suiski deposed.

The usurper slain.

The Muscovites, willing to avoid a new war, with which they were threatened by the Poles, in revenge for an affront they had received at Moscow at the marriage of Demetrius, made application to King Sigismund for leave to chuse his eldest son Uladislaus for their Czar, on condition that he should be re-baptised according to the Grecian rite, in presence of the clergy and nobility of the kingdom. General Solkouski advanced with an army to the very gates of Moscow, and took the oath of fidelity from the inhabitants, while he expected the Prince to follow him in person: but whether his conscience would not suffer him to accept a crown at the expence of his religion, or that he dreaded putting himself in the power of his most irreconcilable enemies, Uladislaus never came. In the mean time the Poles, to the number of 6000, having entered Moscow, exercised the most unheard-of cruelties on the inhabitants, put numbers of them to the sword, set fire to several parts of the town, plundered the treasury of the Great Duke, the churches, and the convents, and carried away a prodigious quantity of gold and silver. The Muscovites, however, got together an army, followed

The Muscovites elect Uladislaus, son of the K. of Poland;

Who refuses the crown.

Cruelties of the Poles at Moscow

Election of Michael Federowicz Romanow. lowed them in their retreat, and obliged them to leave their territories. After which they deposed Uladislaus in form, and elected in his place Michael Federowicz Romanow, son of the metropolitan of Rostow, and founder of the present Imperial family. He was proclaimed grand Duke towards the end of the year 1613. Soon after started

Another impostor. up a new impostor, who called himself the son of Suiski, but was in fact the son of one Timoska, a linnen-draper. He met with some partizans, by whose assistance he got possession of the city of Pleskow: but running afterwards into the most scandalous debaucheries, he was carried to Moscow, and there executed in the great market-place.

Young Romanow's mother, terrified at the fate of so many preceding Czars, attempted to invalidate her son's election: but the nobility stood to what they had done, and engaged to be his guardians. His father, the archbishop, was then a prisoner in Prussia, where he had been detained upon an embassy from the Czar Suiski. Michael notifying his accession to the Poles, they immediately sent back the old prelate, who upon the death of the then patriarch, was advanced to that dignity.

His father made patriarch.

Mse alh'ci character and acts.

The Czar Michael was a pacific Prince. His desire of peace prevailed with him to send an embassy to the Emperor Matthias, to beg his mediation of the differences between Muscovy and Poland. Conferences were held hereupon at Wiefna, in the province of Muscovy, in 1615; but were broke off on account of the difficulties in settling the pretensions on both sides. The Muscovites besieged Smolensko, and the Poles Moscow, till a suspension of arms made them both desist. It was prolonged into a truce for fourteen years, which not being renewed, the Muscovites again blocked Smolensko. King Uladislaus came to its succour, and raised the siege by a complete victory. The Czar, alarmed at this defeat, again made propositions of peace, in consequence of which the ambassadors

on both sides met in 1634, at the village of Diwilna, upon the river Polanow. At last, after many contestations, it was agreed that Uladisslaus should renounce for ever his pretensions on Muscovy, together with the title of grand Duke, which he had assumed in right of his former election, and that he should keep the dutchies of Smolensko and Severia, as a fief of the crown of Poland.

Michael having lived forty-nine years, and reigned thirty-six, died suddenly in the month of July, 1645. Alexis Michaelowitz his son, then but sixteen years of age, was crowned two days after, by the address of the boyar Boris Ivanowitz Morosow his governor. The first thing he did after his coronation, was to send from court all those boyars who had most credit with his father. He then broke the treaty of Polanow, took Smolensko, ravaged Lithuania, and made an irruption into Poland. The Emperor Frederick III. interposed on this occasion, and offered an accommodation between the two crowns. Polish ambassadors came to Vilna, where the Czar then was, and concluded a truce with him, which was afterwards changed into a treaty of peace.

He dies, and his son Alexis succeeds him.

* The Czar Alexis was a man of good understanding. Being a stranger to foreign languages, he caused an epitome of several sciences to be translated into the Russian tongue, which he diligently read. He made some regulations in the army, and particularly introduced a great number of foreign officers. At one and the same time he had war with the Turks, the Tartars, and the Poles. From the latter, besides Smolensko, he took Kiow, Czernigow, Belaja, and the Ukrain, and had once possession of the greatest part of Lithuania and Volhinia, which he added to his title : but no potentate

His character.

* Strahlenberg's description of the North and East parts of Europe and Asia.

tentate being willing to allow him that acquisition, he surrendered again both title and territory, after the peace was concluded. He took from the Tartars a large tract of land towards the Crim, which he added to his dominions; received presents from the Persians, Chinese, and other Asiatic neighbours; quelled three dangerous rebellions; caused the Russian laws to be collected together and printed; introduced several manufactures; augmented his revenue; and had some thoughts of building a fleet; in short, he was a great warrior, and a better Prince than most who had gone before him.

*Death and
issue.*

Alexis died in 1676, leaving by his first wife, Mary Ilgenita, two sons, Theodore and John, and three daughters, Sophia, Mary, and Catharine; and by his second, Natalia Kirilowna, daughter of the prime minister Kirili Naraskin, his son PETER, the subject of this history, and the Princess Natalia. Before his death, he made peace with all his neighbours, except the Turks.

*Theodore
succeeds
him.*

His eldest son Theodore succeeded to the crown; a Prince of a weak constitution, and peaceable disposition: but a lover of poetry, vocal musick, building, and horses. He introduced musick into the churches, according to the Roman notes, which brought on him the imputation of being inclined to popery. He embellished the city of Moscow with stone buildings, and took some pains to have other cities repaired. For those who could not rebuild their houses, he sent them money out of his treasury, to be re-paid in ten years. He destroyed the charters of the nobility, that prerogative afterwards might be grounded only on merit. His inclination for horses occasioned the bringing of many from foreign countries, especially Prussia; and by setting up studs, a good breed was raised in a short time. So far as his capacity and strength would permit, he seemed to pursue the welfare of his people, and gave an uncommon instance how much he had it at heart, by excluding
from

from the succession his own brother John, who had weak eyes, and a shallow understanding, in favour of his half brother Peter, a much more promising prince. Some give the honour of this election to the senate; but most allow that what they did, was in pursuance of the Czar's dying request.

Theodore had two wives. The first, a Polish lady, lived with him but a short time. The second he married not long before his death, at the instigation of his chief favourite Jasykow, who did it merely to deprive Peter of the succession. She was daughter of Apraxin, a new created nobleman, and a scrivener's son. But the Czar was too weak for the minister's purpose, and is said to have died without touching her, in the 23d year of his age, June the 27th, 1682, having reigned only six years. His death was followed by violent commotions, in opposition to young Peter's election: but of these we shall treat in the second book, after having, in the remainder of this, taken a political and geographical view of the Russian Empire at this juncture. *Dies.*

The constitution of Muscovy is entirely monarchical. Unity in religion, the absolute power of the Czars, and the profound submission of their subjects, all contribute to maintain this form of government. As the Czars pretend to derive their original from the Roman emperors, they bear the same arms as the Emperor of Germany; except that there is a St. George on horseback on the breast of the eagle, and a mitre crowned upon each of his heads. They are not only the source of all authority, but used to be respected as the centre of all knowledge; and to hinder any inquisitive person from endeavouring to penetrate into the mysteries of their government, they entirely banished the sciences from their dominions, and forbade the profession of them under severe penalties. They *The Russian constitution.* *Arms.* *Czar's authority.*

*Learning
prohibited.*

would not permit the establishment of any college, for the instruction of youth, that none of their subjects might know more than themselves. The patriarch Micon, who, under the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz, father of the late Peter the Great, would have established two professorships at Moscow, for the Latin and Greek languages, was disgraced on that very account: so different were the maxims of that Prince, one of the best Russia ever before had, from those of his son! it was then common with the Muscovites, when they spoke of any thing secret, or hard to be comprehended, to say, *God and the Czar only know it*. As for their own parts, the utmost of their learning was to write and read. Christianity itself, which imposes on the priests, at least, a sort of necessity of learning, did yet leave the Russian clergy as ignorant as the laity. All they knew was, that they were of the Greek profession, and must therefore mortally hate the Latins. Not a doctor among them was able to make a sermon, even to such auditors as the poor Russians. It was not sufficient that books were not read, but in Russia scarce any could be found, even in the richest and most antient monasteries.

And travelling.

No subject of Muscovy could travel without the Czar's permission, and his ordinances were very severe against those who infringed this regulation. The conversation of strangers, according to these princes, would render them too knowing, and teach them to live with greater liberty. The grandees were not even suffered to retire from court; and tho' they had large possessions in the provinces, they never went to visit them, but left the whole care of their estates to the management of stewards. Obedience to these severe injunctions was become so habitual, that we shall find it one of the Czar Peter's most difficult works to introduce a more natural freedom. The sovereign himself, in those times, never married a foreign wife, but chose one from among his nobility, and

and sometimes the common people, whose relations had never any particular honour, but only during her life.

But the despotic manner of their government, did not however hinder them from taking the advice of their council of state, on all matters of importance. This assembly was composed of the

*The Czar's
council of
state.*

boyars, or principal lords of the court; some of the Ocolnics, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber; of the Dumni-Duoranins, or grand councillors, who are all noble; assisted by three Dumni-Diacks, or chancellors, chosen from among the commonalty, who always stood while the others were seated. All publick affairs, relating as well to the exterior as the interior of the state, were considered in this council. The commissaries for foreign embassies were always chosen out of it, the Czar reserving to himself the right both to nominate the head of the commission, and the Diacks, or under-chancellors, who were to assist him. There were several tribunals for the administration of justice, called *pre-causes*, in which the councillors of state, either boyars, Ocolnics, or Dumni-Duoranins, might preside, and the Diacks performed the office of registers. They decided causes only at their first hearing, after which there was an appeal to the council of state.

*Courts of
justice.*

The Czars, on account of the vast extent of their dominions, could raise a very numerous army in a short time. It has been reported, by those who have resided in Muscovy, that they might easily bring together 300,000 men within forty days: which is owing to the form of government in the several provinces, that, upon sending notice to the Vaivodes, or governors, obliges them to furnish their several compliments, at the time prescribed. But then these troops were only a sort of militia, so little accustomed to the exercise of arms, that they knew neither the order nor discipline of war; which makes it the less to be wondered at, that

*Forces of
the Czars.*

they were so often defeated by their enemies. The Czar, however, had a body of 40,000 men, called Strelitzes, for his life-guard, a third part of which were always near his person, and the rest in the frontier garrisons. These fellows, like the Turkish Janissaries, made themselves formidable to their masters, at the same time that they were a terror to his subjects. The cavalry, in time of peace, was reduced to a small number; but in time of war it consisted of a great many regiments, each containing 11 companies, and every company 100 men. There was also a corps of dragoons, composed entirely of gentlemen, who were called Sinboiarks. The command of armies was not given to merit, but only to birth; whence it happened that the generals were without experience, and liable to commit the most notorious faults; especially as they had no regular general officers, according to the custom of other countries. The colonels, the lieutenant-colonels, the majors, the captains, and the other subaltern officers, were almost always foreigners, chiefly soldiers of fortune, driven by necessity out of their native countries, and brought thither only by the hopes of reward. Their pay was very large, and the esteem they met with, shewed how much the Muscovites were in want of officers. As in their own countries they were seldom more than common soldiers, and only in Russia raised to be officers, they knew little more of their new trade than if they had never been in an army. In a word, the military art, unhappily as indispensable as husbandry itself, was quite neglected. The Russians had indeed extended their dominions, but then it was to the East and the North, where they met with people yet more barbarous than themselves. Towards the West and South they could make no impression, against the Swedes, the Poles, or the Turks. The nobility and gentry, by a false policy of the Czars, were exempted from service,

service, and they looked on this scandalous exemption as a matter of honour. An army thus raised by force, composed of the dregs of the people, badly disciplined, badly commanded, could never make head against a warlike enemy, and there must be a conjunction of very happy circumstances to give them a tolerable victory.

This want of strength to cope with other powers, *Their al-*
made it necessary for the Czars to be very careful in *liances.*
securing the friendship and alliance of their neighbours; and at this they were usually pretty dextrous. They lived in strict union with the kings of Persia, whose interest it equally was to diminish the power of the Turk, their common enemy. With the Swedes they were generally at peace, and always in league with the Poles when a war was on foot against the Infidels. Peter's predecessors had formerly laid claim to the crown of Poland; but besides the different temper and religion of the two nations, the Poles apprehended that if the Grand Dukes of Muscovy were once elected their sovereigns, their great power, and the vicinity of their estates, would tempt them to become their oppressors, rather than their protectors.

The Muscovites were a clownish ignorant people, destitute of politeness, and even civility: which was owing to their being denied the use of the sciences, and the liberty of travelling. They were very irregular in their manners, regardless of faith, treaties, and oaths; most excessive drinkers; but very hardy, and able upon occasion to bear hunger, cold, and all the fatigues of war. They did not want natural vivacity and penetration, being expert imitators of whatever they saw: but then all industry was entirely suppressed among them. The peasants, born in slavery to their merciless lord, were content with a rude sort of agriculture, which just brought them in sufficient to live on. Rich they could not grow, nor durst they if able: even the nobles were afraid to appear so. But arts are the

*Character
of the
Muscovites.*

children of riches, and lenity of government; no wonder then if they were strangers in Russia.

Religion.

The patriarch.

In religion, they use the ceremonies and discipline of the Greek church. Their patriarch, the supreme in all ecclesiastical affairs, was elected by the metropolitans, the archbishops, the bishops, and the inferior clergy, from among the monks of St. Basil. His election was confirmed by the Czar, with the ceremony of delivering to him a pastoral staff. Antiently he depended on the see of Constantinople: for Wolodimer, the son of Suatisslaus, having embraced Christianity, Nicolas Chrysoberg, patriarch of that see, established Michael metropolitan of all Russia. His successors were contented with that title till 1588, when Job assumed the rank of patriarch, and was confirmed in it by Jerom, who had been degraded from his dignity at Constantinople. The successor of Job, jealous of his new-acquired title, bought off the dependance of it for a sum of money, which he had the address to raise from the Muscovites, under the pretence of releasing them from all foreign authority in matters of religion, and that it was their interest and honour to become a separate church. There were besides reasons of state in this alteration. The Czar looking on all those Turks, who were sent to him by the patriarch of Constantinople, as so many spies; to avoid this inconvenience, which might be attended with dangerous consequences, he thought a separation was the most infallible means. The patriarch called himself Proto-Archimandrite of the order of St. Basil. He used to crown the Czars, and to regulate absolutely all affairs of religion, for which he had particular tribunals, where justice was administered in his name. The Roserad, one of their courts, took cognizance of all that regarded the effects of the church. The second, called Sudnoi, determined the affairs of the monks of St. Basil. The third, which bore the name of Casannoi, inspected the patriarch's treasures and

reve-

revenues. The pomp and grandeur of this prelate was almost incredible, and can only be accounted for from the ignorance of the laity, even of the Czars themselves, who on Palm-Sunday, their solemn day of procession, went on foot, supported by the boyars, holding the bridle of the patriarch's horse. It was no wonder that Peter abolished an authority, which so much interfered with, and in some measure eclipsed his own.

Next after the patriarch were the Metropolitans of Novogrod, Casan, Rostow, and Sark, who presided in their respective provinces, and had considerable power among the clergy. Then followed the archbishops of Wologda, Tweer, Astracan, Siberia, Archangel, and Pleskow; and after them the two bishops of Viatka and Columaa. The abbots, or archimandrites, amounted to about fifty; the provosts, or protopapas, to a great many more; and the priests, or papas, most of whom were very ignorant and debauched, to a prodigious number.

And other clergy.

The precepts of Christianity, and the psalms which they sang in the churches, were writ in Sclavonian characters; the Muscovites, till lately, knowing nothing of the Latin. They believed baptism ineffectual, unless it were administered by a triple emersion, according to the antient practice of the church. They receive the eucharist in both kinds, and even administer it to infants of seven years old, whom they believe subject to sin. They look on Purgatory as a fable; but hold with confession, prayers for the dead, the sign of the cross, processions, and many other ceremonies in common with the catholicks. They imagined the world was created in autumn, and therefore made the first of September their new-year's day, till the Czar Peter reformed their calendar, and exposed their ridiculous opinion of the origin of things. They have a great number of fasts; which they observe very strictly: For besides Lent, the fast of St. Peter lasts from the octave of Whitsuntide till

Ceremonies

Fasts.

the

Easter.

the festival of that saint; that of the virgin, from the first of August till the day of Assumption; that of St. Philip, from the 14th of November till Christmas-day. When Easter comes, they abandon themselves to all manner of excesses, to testify their joy for our Saviour's resurrection. As this is the most solemn of all their feasts, they used to celebrate it in the following manner. They placed the principal person in company in the midst of the room where they assembled, and then encircling him about, sang altogether in concert, accompanied by their Priests. Thus they went three times round, and every one gave him the kiss of peace, and a present of eggs, either painted or gilt. Those of the first rank have three eggs, others two, and the inferior sort but one. Their jollity at this time is extravagant, and he who has oftenest been drunk, has shewn the most Easter devotion. They sometimes come to blows in these frolicks, and knock one another down with great poles. The most gallant young fellows, who love that way of saluting the women, run up and down all day with their eggs (which it is customary for one sex to present the other in the streets) give the kiss of peace, and make their present, saying in the Russian tongue, *Christ is risen*: to which the woman answers, *Yes, he is risen*. The clergy give this custom a spiritual interpretation.

*No sects
among the
Russians.*

There were no sects among the Muscovites, they being forbid all religious disputes, upon these maxims of their rulers, that "they who talk of religion least, talk of it best," and that "the vulgar ought to be sincerely devoted to the faith they have received from God, without perplexing themselves about difficult questions, which are above their comprehension." Hence it was that they had ever continued firm in their old opinions, without borrowing any new doctrines, either from the Papists or Protestants. The veneration they have for saints, and especially for St. Nicolas, is very great

*Their
saints.*

Not

Not a family but has some tutelär saint of its own, which they revere above all others. His picture is always placed in sight, as you enter their apartments, and if a visitor happens to overlook it at first glance, he immediately asks for the saint, whom he salutes before the master of the house. The most vigorous lover dares not receive a favour from his mistress, be the moment ever so critical, without first covering the saints in the room, that they may not be witnesses of what is done. It is usual to carry these saints to funerals; and no person is buried among them, but has a certificate from the metropolitan put into his coffin, to inform St. Nicolas what were the life and manners of the deceased. It is common also to throw a piece of money into the tomb, and leave provisions there both for eating and drinking.

Funerals.

But among all their ridiculous and superstitious customs, the Muscovites had some more significant and instructive. They put a crown of wormwood upon the heads of new-married persons, to represent the bitterness of marriage; and as a token of fecundity, sprinkled them with hops. They covered the woman's eyes with a veil, to signify that she ought not to see the faults of her husband. Their laws did not prohibit bigamy; yet those who committed it were never respected after, but looked upon as the shame and dishonour of their families. They believed no women to be honest unless they entirely refrained the conversation of men, and kept themselves prisoners in their houses. Virtue, according to them, consisted in being confined within four walls, and the more savage and unpolished, the better wife. Husbands might kill their wives by way of correction, without incurring the penalty of the law: they might also repudiate them for sterility, and force them to retire into a convent: and yet, what is hardly credible, it was usual for the wife to be proud of her husband's jealousy and ill-nature. It was not till towards the beginning of the

Marriages

Czar

Czar Peter's reign, that it became customary for fathers, in marriage-contracts, to article that their daughters should be used according to their quality, fed with good victuals, and not be cudgelled on every slight occasion. Women who destroyed their husbands (a thing frequent in Russia till the late reformation) were set alive in the ground, and starved to death.

Great submission of the Muscovites :

As the Muscovites are more submissive than even the Turks, they glory in calling themselves slaves to their prince. His will, which they always regard as the will of God, is the only rule of their actions. Thus the yoke of a tyranny, otherwise insupportable, was made easy by a voluntary and habitual servitude, perfectly natural to the whole nation. They would tremble at the very sight of the Czar, throw themselves at his feet as he passed along, confess that they had nothing of their own, but that their lives and possessions were all from his bounty, and no longer theirs than he was pleased to permit. The Czars, for their parts, made their advantage of this credulity, and drew from their subjects whatever they pleased. Besides the traffic in Siberian furs, the customs, the taxes upon brandy-shops and other publick-houses, the property of baths and stoves, the duty upon entry and departure in the port of Archangel (amounting alone to above 600,000 crowns) the imposts on the caviare of Astracan, upon Icthyocol and Agaric, the profits made of the Persian and Armenian merchandizes, the commerce of skins, wax, honey, and hemp; besides all these, and what they levied on their officers, the Czars were, and still continue, the lawful and sole heirs of all who die intestate, or who have been accused of any crime, and the absolute masters of all their subjects effects, which they usually surrender to the next of blood, upon their paying a considerable fine.

And authority of the Czars.

The English and Dutch, who for a long time past have carried on a considerable trade with the Russians,

Russians, advised the Czar Basil Suiski to make a canal from the Wolga to the Jug, which falls into the Dwina, and another in the kingdom of Astracan, between the Wolga and the Tanais, by which means he would have joined all the neighbouring seas, and consequently must have brought great abundance into all the parts of his wide-extended territories. But that Prince rejected a proposal so glorious to himself, and so advantageous to his subjects, upon the weak pretence that so much foreign commerce would draw a great number of strangers into his dominions, and that the concourse of so many different nations, might occasion innovations in religion, and corrupt the manners of his subjects.

A scheme for joining of rivers.

Rejected.

His successors, indeed, on political considerations, did afterwards permit the Lutherans and Calvinists the exercise of their religion in Muscovy, denying them only the use of bells. The great number of merchants and soldiers, English, Scots, German, Swedish, and Dutch, who were there settled, were found of so great advantage, as well as security to the state, that it was prudently thought better to relax a little on the head of religion, than to run much greater hazards, by discouraging those people to inhabit among them. Yet the same aversion to the opening new canals of trade, and a more free correspondence with foreigners, continued to restrain them from all farther advances; till the late glorious reign of Peter the Great. The little commerce they before had, was entirely in the hands of foreign merchants, who were but too much tempted to impose on them. The sea had never borne any Muscovite ships, either for traffic or war, and the port of Archangel was for strangers only.

Protestants tolerated.

Commerce.

To sum up the character of these people: * there reigned every where an extreme depravation, both of manners and sentiments, which was not, as in other

Conclusion of the Russians character.

other places, so much as concealed under a modest outside, or dressed in the appearance of wit and superficial humour. Yet, as pride is the perfection of ignorance, this same people was superlatively haughty, and full of contempt for every thing they did not understand. The Muscovite nation, knowing nothing, and little known by any of its neighbours, made a sort of peculiar people, which did not enter into the system of Europe, had no intimate alliance with any of her powers, was little regarded by them, and of which they had little curiosity to be acquainted with the history.

Such was the political state of Muscovy, when Prince Peter was proclaimed Czar on the death of his brother Theodore; and indeed little was it improved for some years after, during the minority of the young monarch. Let us now see what those dominions were, which then devolved to his authority; leaving his own acquisitions, and the improvement he made in his hereditary countries, to be spoken of in their proper places.

*Extent of
the Russian
empire.*

Muscovy, properly so called, is but a province of Great Russia; as the two Russias united make only a part of that vast empire, to which they now communicate their name. Such a prodigious tract of land as the whole North of Asia, and of the greatest part of Europe, is to be found under the dominion of no one monarch, but the sovereign of Russia. The whole length of it, between China and Sweden, is computed at 1500 leagues. In this description of its several parts, I shall write of something more instructive than the mere longitude and latitude of places.

*Bounda-
ries and
division of
Muscovy in
Europe.*

The Russian empire may be divided into the European provinces, included under the general name of Muscovy, and the Asiatic provinces, or Siberia and Muscovite Tartary. To begin with the first, or Muscovy in Europe: the rivers Oby and

Irtis

Irtis bound it on the east; a line drawn from the latter to the Caspian-Sea, from thence to the river Don, and along by the north of Crim Tartary, on the South; on the West, the river Nieper divides it from Poland: North of which lie the provinces since conquered from Sweden, on whose territories it confines quite to the frozen ocean, which makes the northern boundary. It is near 2300 miles in length, and 1800 in breadth. The usual division of it is into South and North Muscovy; and the latter is again subdivided into East, and West, the one bordering on Tartary, and the other on Sweden.

The western part of North Muscovy, includes *West part* East Lapland, the province of Dwina, the dutchy *of North* of Rleskow, the provinces of Kargapol and Wolog- *Muscovy.* da, and the dutchies of Novogrod and Biela-Ozero.

East Lapland, formerly called Biarmia, lies be- *East Lap-* tween the lake Enaretresk and the northern ocean; *land.* is a desert and uncultivated country, consisting of three great provinces; Mourmanskoï-Leporia, in which is the port of Kola, at the mouth of a river much frequented by the English and Dutch, for the multitude of skins there sold: Terskoï-Leporia, between the northern ocean and the White-Sea; and Bellamorefski-Leporia, at the bottom the latter. The cold here is extreme.

The province of Dwina has its name from the *Province* river so called, which divides it in the middle. *of Dwina.*

The principal city is Archangel, at the mouth *Archangel* of this river, a very populous place, and till of late years famous for its extensive commerce. There have sometimes been seen 300 large ships together in its port, from England, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, freighted with all sorts of merchandises. The English first arrived there, during a war between the Danes and Muscovites, after having made several voyages on the coasts of Norway and Lapland, and established a trade that considerably

augmented the Czar's revenues. Archangel is an archiepiscopal see. There is besides in this province of Dwina the port of St. Nicholas, but much inferior to that of Archangel.

St. Nicholas.
Dutchy of Pleskow.
City.

The dutchy of Pleskow extends between the dutchy of Novogrod on the East, and Livonia on the West. It was a long time governed by its own Princes, who were elected by the people. But John Basiliowitz drove out the reigning sovereign in 1509, and made himself master of the country. Pleskow, the capital city, upon the river Weliki, is divided into four quarters, which have their respective walls; and defended by a castle built upon a rock. The Dukes of Livonia took it in 1241. Alexander great Duke of Muscovy restored it to liberty, which it preserved however but till 1414, when Vitold grand Duke of Lithuania reduced it. Twelve years after it revolted, and continued again independant till 1509, when John Basiliowitz obtained it by the treachery of some priests. Stephen Bathori King of Poland besieged it in 1587, but without effect. It is the see of an archbishop.

Kargapol. The province of Kargapol lies between the lake Onega and the river Dwina. It has a city of the same name near the lake.

Wologda province and city. The province of Wologda is a very marshy country, near the source of the Dwina. It takes its name from the city of Wologda upon that river, a large place, and fortified since the reign of John Basiliowitz II. The archbishop of Wologda takes place of all others in Muscovy.

Great Novogrod, dutchy of.
City. The dutchy of Novogrod is so called from the city of Novogrod Weliki, or Great Novogrod, situate in an extensive plain on the river Wolkow, adorned with fine buildings, and well fortified. It is the oldest city in all Russia, and was formerly a potent republick, maintaining itself long against all the efforts of its enemies. Vitold grand Duke of Lithuania subdued it in 1414. John Basiliowitz I. took

took it from the Lithuanians ; obliged Casimir III. King of Poland, to renounce all his pretensions over it, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty. The constable de la Gardie took it in 1611, but the Swedes restored it to the Muscovites in 1613. Its metropolitan is the first in rank. There is also in this province, and upon the Wolkow, the city of Ladoga, near where the lake of that name receives the said river. This was formerly a place of importance, by being on the frontiers of Sweden, till the late war altered the boundaries of the two States. They worshipped an idol antiently in this province, called Perum, under the figure of a man grasping thunder, and his name is still preserved in the monastery of Perumski.

The dutchy of Biela-Ozero lies between Wologda and Novogrod. Its capital, of the same name, is a place of considerable strength. It stands upon a fort of mole that advances far into the lake, and on the land side is defended by a citadel almost inaccessible. Here the Czars used to deposite a part of their treasure, under the care of a principal courtier.

Biela-Ozero dutchy and city.

That part of North Muscovy which borders on Tartary, comprehends the provinces of Condora, Juhorski, Petzora, Obdora, Ustioug, Permski, and Viatka, with the countries of the Czeremisses and Morduates.

East part of North Muscovy.

The province of Condora lies between Petzora and Desart Tartary. It consists only of woods and frightful desarts. The natives are idolaters, and pay their tribute in skins and furs.

Condora.

The province of Juhorski lies between those of Condora and Petzora. Its inhabitants are a sort of uncivilized Tartars. The Muscovites have possessed it ever since the reign of John Basiliowitz II: but neither cities nor towns are to be found here ; only a few ports upon the frozen sea, destitute of any traffick.

Juhorski.

Petzora.

The province of Petzora extends along the frozen sea, between the White sea and Weygat's freights. It has a river and one city of the same name. The former issues from the Riphean mountains, which extend from the White-Sea to the river Oby. There is also a fortress in this province, near the mouth of the river Petzora, called Pustiezero.

Obdora.

The province of Obdora extends to the frozen sea, beyond the river Oby. It is quite a desert country, without towns, except a few fortresses on the coasts. The Northern part is inhabited by several idolatrous nations, and here is said to be the temple of that antient idol called by the Muscovites Zolota-baba, represented by an old man with a child in his arms, and another by his side. This god is in the highest esteem throughout the neighbouring countries, and consulted as an oracle in times of difficulty.

Ustiong.

The province of Ustiong lies between Wologda and the Czeremisses. It is watered by the river Suchana, which affords the inhabitants great plenty of fish. The city of Ustiong is so called from a Russian word, signifying the mouth of a river, because it was built upon the conflux of the Suchana and the Jug. It is large, and fortified with a good castle. Demetrioff, upon the Dwina, was founded by the grand Duke Demetrius, whose name it preserves.

Permia.

The province of Permski, or Great Permia, lies on the West of Siberia. It is a very marshy country, partly under water, partly full of woods and horrid desarts. John Basiliowitz II. subdued, but few people ventured to inhabit it. It abounds, in wild beasts, seemingly designed by nature to give them an asylum. The few natives live by hunting these creatures, whose flesh they eat, and sell their skins. The city of Permia Weliki, upon the river Kam, is capital of the province, and the seat

feat of an archbishop in conjunction with Wologda.

The province of Viatka lies to the West of Permian. It abounds in honey and wax, and produces too a great number of hides. The city of Viatka is remarkable only for being a bishoprick. It stands upon a little river of the same name, and has been fortified by the Czars, to preserve it from the irruptions of the Tartars.

The country of the Czeremisses extends along the banks of the Wologda, from the dutchy of Nis-Novogrod to the kingdom of Astracan. These people are divided into Logouvoi Czeremisses, or inhabitants of the meadows, and Nagornoi Czeremisses, that is, people who live in woods and mountains. The first are situated beyond the Wolga, and live in tents, which they remove from place to place, as they find pasturage. They breed up oxen, horses, and other beasts. They never plough nor sow, have no harvest, but live upon milk and flesh. Their drink resembles our Aqua-vitae, and they often use it to great excess. The Nagornoi Czeremisses inhabit on this side the river, in a rude and uncultivated country, full of woods and mountains. They live upon wild honey, which they gather in the forests; spend their time in hunting and indolence; and as they have no magistrates, neither have they any form of government.

The Morduates inhabit towards the South of the Nagornoi Czeremisses, in vast deserts, which extend to the dutchy of Wolodimer and Crim Tarty. They speak the same language as the Czeremisses, are like them of the Mahometan religion, and their Princes are equally tributary to the Czar.

South Muscovy comprehends the provinces of South Muscovy, and the dutchies of Worotin, Rezan, Wolodimer, Nisi, or Little Novogrod, Jaroslaw,

Susdal, Rostow, Tweer, Reskow, Bielki, Smolensk, Severia, and Czernizow.

*Muscovy
proper.*

*Moscow
city.*

Muscovy Proper, or the province of Moscow, lies between the provinces of Rostow, Susdal, Resan, Bielki, and Worotin. It is the first in rank of the whole Empire, nor is any one inhabited by a greater number of nobility. The city of Moscow, upon a river of the same name, which comes out of the province of Tweer, is the capital of all Russia. Its foundations were laid by George Duke of Wolodimer in 1334, and Daniel Alexandrowitz having chosen it for the seat of his residence, it became one of the strongest and most beautiful cities of the North : but lost much of its glory upon being pillaged and burnt by the Tartars, who took it the 24th of May 1570. It recovered its rank however afterwards, and became larger and more popular than before. It is divided into four quarters, all enclosed with walls. The Czar's palace is within the citadel, which includes the arsenal, the houses of many of the chief nobility, several monasteries, and the Precauses, or courts of justice. The patriarch's palace joins to the Czar's ; is built of stone; but the architecture of it is very mean and poor. The houses in general are of wood, and were reckoned about 50,000 in number. Columna, upon the river Moscow likewise, is another city of this province. It stands about a league from the junction of that river with the Occa, and is the see of an archbishop. This province is in fact one of the most considerable of the whole Empire, and can furnish 30,000 boys, or gentlemen, in time of war.

Columna.

Worotin.

The dutchy of Worotin is the most southern province of all Muscovy, bordering upon those of Moscow and Resan, and upon Little Tartary. The country is full of woods and lakes, and might be rendered very fertile, if the inhabitants would take any care of its cultivation : but the dread of the Tartars, who continually kept them alarmed by

by their incursions, makes them inactive and spiritless. They content themselves with sowing their corn in a very negligent manner, and bestow no farther pains on it till their harvest, when they go to the field in order of battle, to defend themselves against those merciless enemies. One would think, to see them all armed and in rank, that they were going rather to some military expedition than to labour. Yet are they often surprized, notwithstanding their caution: the Tartars knowing so well the art to deceive them, either by feigning a flight, or laying of ambuscades, that they carry off not only the corn, but the men and horses. Veronitz is a small city upon the Occa, *Veronitz.* defended with a few fortifications, to secure the inhabitants from the irruptions of the Tartars. We shall say more of this place hereafter.

The dutchy of Rezan extends to the frontiers of Little Tartary, between the Don and the Occa. *Rezan dutchy.* It is a country extremely fertile in corn, very popular, and was governed by its own Princes till subdued by John Basiliowitz II. Rezan, the capital city, formerly considerable for its magnitude, *City.* was ruined by the Crim Tartars in 1568, but is still the seat of an archbishop. The other cities of this province are Borissa and Coluga. Boris Godenow, whose name it bears, built the first of them upon the river Bogdan. The latter stands where the little river Upa falls into the Occa, and was fortified by the Muscovites in the last century. The Don, *River Don* known to the antients, by the name of Tanais, and which passes for one of the largest rivers in Europe, issues in this province from the lake Juvanovou-Lézioro. It begins to be navigable near the ruins of the antient city of Donch; then runs within seven miles of the Wolga, as if it would unite with its streams, but suddenly changing its course, and turning towards the West, by the little city of Sanissa, where it forms a great angle, proceeds and empties itself in the Palus Maeotis,

be-

below Asoph, having received in its course several other rivers, the chief of which are the Sosna, the Donec, and the Samara.

*Wolodimer
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Wolodimer is bounded on the North by the province of Nisi-Novogrod, by the country of the Morduates on the East, by the dutchies of Rezan and Susal on the South and West. It consists of fine spacious plains, so fertile, that the people need only lightly turn up the ground at seed-time, and for one bushel thrown in, they usually reap more than thirty. It is wonderful to see the quantity of honey here collected, the forests being full of swarms of bees; and where they have no trees to settle on, they work their combs in caverns of the ground. The natives make a liquor of this product, tempering the sweetness with bitter roots. It is commonly drunk in all the northern provinces, and often very intemperately at their festivals. Wolodimer is a fine city upon the river Clesma, which a few leagues lower falls into the Occa. It was the residence of the antient Dukes of Muscovy, and preserves the name of its founder, who assumed that of Basil after his conversion to Christianity. It is defended by a castle with wooden walls.

City.

*Little No-
vogrod
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Nisi-Novogrod extends along the Wolga, between the dutchy of Wolodimer, the province of Wologda, and the countries of the Czeremisses and Morduates. Its cities are Novogrod, at the conflux of the Wolga and Occa; large, handsome, and defended by a citadel, erected by the grand Duke John Basiliowitz II. and Basiligorod, upon the Wolga, where it receives the river Surez, which had the same Prince for its founder.

City.

*Basiligo-
rod.*

*Jaroslaw
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Jaroslaw is watered by the Wolga, having the province of Wologda on the North, and the dutchy of Rostow on the South. The famous John Basiliowitz, so often mentioned, drove out the Russian Princes, who had possessed

it for many centuries, and incorporated it with his dominions. It is of great extent, abounds in honey and flax, and has fine meadows and pasture-grounds on the borders of the Wolga, which breed abundance of cattle. The city of Jaroslaw stands on the banks of this river. It is a rich mercantile place; and, as it serves for the magazine of all goods imported and exported by the way of Archangel and St. Nicolas, abounds in people who carry on a regular correspondence with the English and Dutch, and all the traders on the Caspian and Black Seas. The city is walled about with wood, according to the custom of that country, such fortifications being sufficient to repel the attacks of the Tartars, who have neither arms nor engines to carry on a regular siege, and only make sudden irruptions into the open country. In this province is likewise the little city of Uglitz, famous for the death of Demetrius, which produced such great revolutions in Muscovy.

*City.**Uglitz.*

The dutchy of Susdal, situate between the provinces of Wolodimer and Rostow, is a level fertile country, surrounded with forests full of wild beasts, the hunting of which is the chief exercise of the inhabitants. Jerosslaus, grand Duke of Muscovy, gave it to Andrew his sixth son, progenitor of the family of the Suiski, from whom descended Basil Suiski, elected Czar after the death of the false Demetrius. The great Basiliowitz wrested this country from the Dukes who possessed it, and united it to his other estates. Susdal is a small city, the seat of an archbishop, built entirely with wood, with which the country abounds. This mannner of building is common to all the northern people, who are little curious in their habitations: nor is it to be wondered at, that people destitute of abundance, should have no great share of politeness,

*Susdal dutchy.**City.*

The

*Rostow
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Rostow borders upon those of Susdal and Tweer. It was formerly one of the great Russian principalities, and an appendage of the Czars second sons. But Basiliowitz, who could not bear to have another sovereignty in the midst of his estates, united it to the Empire in 1565, causing the last Prince to be inhumanly murdered. The province abounds in many things, particularly in salt and fish. Its cities are Rostow upon the Cotor, the seat of the metropolitan; and Pere-slaw, which lies between Jaroslaw and Moscow.

Cities.

*Tweer
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Tweer lies between those of Rostow and Novogrod Weliki, and the province of Moscow. Antiently it was one of the most flourishing States in Russia, governed by Princes descended from the grand Duke Jerossaus Sevoloditz, and who bore the same title of grand Dukes, till Michael, the last of them, was despoiled both of dignity and dominion by John Basiliowitz I. who united this principality to Muscovy in 1486. The city of Tweer is so called from the little river Twerza, which falls there into the Wolga. It was built by grand Duke Jerossaus, and fortified with a castle at the conflux of the two rivers. It was made an archbishoprick in the last century.

City.

*Reschow
dutchy;*

The dutchy of Reschow, or Rezeva, lies on the borders of Lithuania, between the dutchies of Tweer and Bielki. It suffers much in a war between the Poles and Muscovites, by the frequent passage of armies. The soil is tolerably fertile. Reschow, the capital, near the source of the Wolga, is defended by two citadels with wooden walls. Taropiecz stands on the brink of the lake, which covers it from the incursions of its thievish neighbours. Welikieluki, a third city of this province, is strongly fortified on the top of a mountain, the foot of which is watered by the river Lowat. It was taken in 1580 by Stephen King of Poland, but restored to the Muscovites by the treaty which put

Cities of.

an end to that war. The Wolga, called by the antients Rha, arises in this province from the lake Wronow, in the midst of the forest of Vol-
The river Wolga.
 konsk. Two miles from its source it traverses the lake Wolga, whose name it preserves. It is afterwards augmented with the waters of several rivers, and, running eastward, in its course washes the walls of Tweer, Jaroslaw, Nisi-Novogrod, and Casan, beyond which latter it turns to the South, crosses the kingdom of Astracan, forms several isles in a desert country, near the extremity of which all its branches are united, and again dividing, it falls by several mouths into the Caspian-Sea.

The dutchy of Bielki is bounded on the East *Bielki* and North by the dutchy of Tweer, and the province of Moscow, and on the South and West by the great dutchy of Lithuania. It was formerly tributary to the Jagellons, Duke of the latter country; but Basil, the last of them, released them from their servitude. Bielki, the capital, upon the little *City.* river Bielki, has often changed its face in time of war; as well as Woloks, situate on the Nieper.

The Dutchy of Smolensko lies on the East of *Smolensko* Lithuania, between those of Reschow, Bielki, and *dutchy.* Severia. Olech, the cousin of Rurich, conquered it from the Sclavonian Princes. Boris dying without issue, Wolodimer Monomachus gave it to Micislaus one of his sons, whose grandson being driven from thence by Vitold, it was united to Lithuania. Jagellon, when elected King of Poland, made it a palatinate, and it was the more important for lying on the frontiers of Muscovy: but the Czar Alexis Michaelowitz, father of Peter, almost wholly conquered it in 1654, since when it makes a very considerable province of the Russian Empire. The *City.* city of Smolensko is situate on the banks of the Nieper, among woods and inaccessible mountains, which render the approach of it difficult. Besides a
 thick

thick wall, adorned with towers, it is defended by a strong castle built on an eminence, which commands all the neighbouring country. This city has frequently changed masters between the Poles and Muscovites, which latter now possess it; and hence it has justly been called the apple of discord between two nations, naturally enemies. Sigismund III. King of Poland, established an archbishoprick here, for those Greeks who were of the Romish communion, and also a bishoprick for catholicks. The former dignity is kept up by the Muscovites, but for a prelate of the Greek communion. The jurisdiction of Smolensko extends over thirty neighbouring villages, which were the subject of the war in 1643.

*Severia
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Severia was part of the palatinate of Smolensko, and belonged antiently to Princes descended from the great Demetrius, who were stripped of it by Basil. Sigismund III. incorporated it with Poland; but it was ceded afterwards to the Muscovites by treaty, as a dependance of Smolensko. The capital is Novogrod-Sevierski, situate on the Desna.

*Novogrod-
Sevierski.
Czernikow
dutchy.*

The dutchy of Czernikow lies between that of Severia, of which it was formerly part, and the Turkish Ukrania. Jerosslaus grand Duke of Muscovy, gave it to Suatoslaus his third son, after which it was held sometimes by the Czars, and sometimes by the Dukes of Lithuania. Sigismund III. King of Poland took it, and by a treaty concluded in 1618, between King Uladislaus and the Czar Michael Federowitz, the Muscovites gave it up absolutely to the Poles. Alexis Michaelowitz laughed at this cession of his father's, retook the dutchy, and united it to his Empire. Czernikow is a small city on the Desna pretty well fortified.

City.

Among the appendages of the dutchy of Smolensko are reckoned also the territories of Rumna, Sierpiciow and Orssa, so called from the city of Orssa, at the conflux of the Orsca and the Nieper.

The

The Czars also possess part of Ukrania beyond the Nieper, for that reason called Ukrania Ulterior. Kiow, on the west shore of the Nieper, is the capital of this district; so called from Kiof, a Russian Prince, who built it about the middle of the ninth century. One may judge by its bounds, that it was formerly very large and magnificent, above eight miles in circuit. After having been a long time the seat of the Russian Empire, it became the residence of its own Princes. The Tartars have often pillaged, and were upon the point of ruining it entirely in 1615: to prevent which for the future, the Cossacks put themselves under the Muscovites protection. These have not only held it since, but obtained a full cession of it from the Poles, for the price of 700,000 florins. The other cities are Stański, Czyowo, Tirzypol, Triethymerow, and Kanjow. The isle of Zaporow is possessed in common by the Poles and Muscovites, who are mutually bound to defend it by the treaty of Andreczovia. *Kiow.* *Zaporow.*

Muscovite Tartary comprehends the Kingdoms of Astracan, Bulgar, Casan, and Siberia, the country of the Samoiedes, Lucomoria, Loppia, and the country of the Tingoefes, which formerly made a part of Tartaria Deserta, and for the most part at present consists of barren desarts, or uncultivated lands. *Muscovite Tartary.*

The Kingdom of Astracan lies towards the mouth of the Wolga, between Bulgaria and the Caspian-Sea. It is of large extent, and the seat of a considerable trade, carried on between the Persians, the Armenians, the Rutherians, and the Greeks. The soil is good and fertile. Besides a large traffic in dried fish, this country sends away every year a great quantity of caviare, which is a sort of bou-targo, made of the melts of the Beluga and the Sturgeon, and much eat by the Muscovites. A considerable quantity of salt also comes from Astracan, which is taken out of the lakes, where it swims
* E like *Astracan Kingdom.*

City.

like ice. The ancient Sovereigns of Astracan, expelled by John Basiliowitz in 1554, were of Tartarian race. Its capital, of the same name, stands on the river Wolga, which seven leagues lower falls into the Caspian sea. It is enclosed with good walls, and guarded by a strong citadel. Since the Muscovites have possessed it, they have made it very commodious, on account of their commerce with the Orientals. Basiliowitz, its conqueror, made it an archiepiscopal see. The Nogay, or Nagaia Tartars inhabit the eastern part of this Kingdom, on the other side the Wolga. The Muscovites call them Polonski, that is, Vagabonds, because they live in tents erected on the open plains, which they transport from place to place, according to their humours or necessities. They never cultivate the earth, but spend their time in hunting or fishing, and live contentedly on the spontaneous products of nature. They are tributaries to the Czar, who gives them liberty to chuse their own Prince or leader.

*Nogay
Tartars.**Bulgaria.*

The Kingdom of Bulgaria lies to the north of Astracan, and borders eastward upon Desert Tartary. On the west it is watered by the Wolga, which divides it from the Nagornoi Czeremisses and the kingdom of Casan. Here are neither towns, villages, nor houses. The inhabitants, divided into hordes, reside under tents made of hides. A horde usually consists of 50 or 60 tents pitched in a circle, in which their wives, their children, their horses, and their cattle, lodge all in common. When they have eat up all the forage in one place where they had encamped, they strike their tents, and remove into fresh pasture. They march in companies, commanded by the heads of their respective hordes, whom they call their elders. They fight in platoons, and upon the first slight attack, either force the enemy or flee themselves. This nation, among so many others, is one of the fruits of John Basiliowitz's victories, who deprived

*Tartar
hordes.*

prived them of their own natural Kings, and made them vassals to Russia.

The Kalmuck Tartars inhabit to the East of Bulgaria, and are included in the same division. They are taken for the remains of the Orgases, a people of Scythia, who followed the Allans, when these latter invaded the Roman Empire. The Kalmuks are taller and more tawny than the other Tartars, who are usually short, but strong and well set. Their country extends to Olgaria, a part of Great Tartary bordering upon the Caspian-Sea.

Kalmucks.

The Kingdom of Casan is bordered by the province of Viatka on the North, the Kingdom of Bulgaria on the East, the Czeremisses on the West and South. It stretches along the Wolga, which about a league below the city of Casan receives the river Casanka, whence the whole country took its name. The land here is fertile, and commodiously situated. The inhabitants are more civilized than the other Tartar nations, occasioned by their conversing more with strangers. They apply themselves entirely to commerce, and carry on a considerable trade in hides. Formerly they were a gallant and warlike nation, and their Kings were dreaded by the neighbouring States. But being engaged in civil wars, they were deprived of royalty and dominion by John Basiliowitz II. The only considerable city is Casan, which is large and populous, fortified with a good castle, and famous for its trade over the East, its metropolitan, who was established here by the conqueror, has the second rank among those of the order.

*Casan
Kingdom.*

City.

Siberia is situated towards the river Oby, East of the provinces of Permia and Condora. John Basiliowitz began the reduction of it, which was completed under the reign of his son, by the assistance of one Stroginooff, a wealthy Russian farmer, whose posterity were rewarded with great privileges and grants for this piece of service, and are

Siberia.

known in Russia by the name of the rich peasants. Tho' the Muscovites have planted many colonies here, yet the greatest part of the country remains uninhabited, consisting only of wilds, woods, and desarts. The martens, which yield the finest furs, are almost peculiar to Siberia, where it is death for any one to kill them but those appointed for that purpose. These hunters are either slaves or criminals, distributed into cantons under proper officers. They go in troops to the chase, and shoot with such dexterity, that they usually wound the animal just on the nose, for fear of damaging the fur. These furs are carried to the treasury, where their price is fixed, and applied to the payment of the troops. The Czars raise immense sums from this traffic in furs. In the same forests are taken elans, or wild asses, and zouricks, a creature resembling the badger both in shape and seize, except that the hair is darker, and the legs shorter. Strange stories are told concerning the wars and politicks of these animals, which would seem incredible, if not well attested. The Siberians have a particular language of their own, and do not even understand that which is commonly spoken in Tartary. They are a gross ignorant people, without religion or civility. In the room of bread they eat dried-fish, their rivers and lakes being exceeding prolific. They have no houses, but lie in the open air during the severest cold, and seldom make a fire but for curing their fish. The city of Tibolski, upon the conflux of the rivers Tobol and Irtysh, was built and fortified by the Muscovites, who make it the capital of Siberia. Hither the Czar sends his State prisoners, and the trade carried on here in slaves is so very considerable, that the town is become large, populous, and rich. An archiepiscopal see has been here erected. The cities of Tumen and Vergateria are also comprehended in the government of Siberia. The first stands on a river of the same name, and

Tibolski.

Tumen.

Vergateria

is inhabited only by Muscovite exiles, who are sent thither to cultivate the country. The other is situated on the river Tocra, above where it falls into the Tobol, and inhabited both by Russians and Tartars.

The country of the Samoiedes lies towards the mouth of the Oby, between the province of Obdora and Tingoefes. They are reputed canibals, or man-eaters, and thence have their name, which, in the Tartar language, signifies as much. *Quintus Curtius* mentions a Scythian nation that sent ambassadors to Alexander, whom they addressed in a very beautiful harangue, and the Samoiedes are thought to be descended from that people. They are altogether barbarous in their manners, customs, and religion; live only on the flesh of wild beasts, or fish, which they sometimes eat raw. In winter, because of the insupportable cold of those frozen climates, they reside in round tents, covered with mats and deer-skins: but during summer they encamp on the borders of rivers, for the convenience of fishing. The men are very disagreeable, with flat faces full of incisions, little eyes sunk in their sockets, and very large heads. Nor are the women less deformed than the men, but make their beauty to consist in what with us would pass for the reverse; and, what is most surprizing, they usually win the affections of their husbands, in proportion as they are more or less careful to make themselves ugly. Those among them who pretend to magic are in the highest esteem, and invested with a sort of Priestly character: the common people are entirely devoted to them, and undertake nothing of importance without first asking their advice. They even consult them upon a hunting-match, and take their directions as to the time and place of making it. The riches of the the Samoiedes consist in the abundance of their deer, of which the forests are full. Some of them are so very tame, that they will come at being called,

The Samoiedes.

suffer themselves to be harnessed and fastened to sleds, which they draw with incredible celerity.

Lucomoria Lucomoria lies beyond the Oby, amidst horrible deserts, which make it difficult of access. Little certain is known either of its extent or inhabitants, few strangers having ever been there: and those who pretend they have, give such fabulous relations, as render their credit suspected.

Loppia. Loppia lies to the north of Lucomoria, between the province of Baida on the East, and the Oby, which separates it from Siberia, on the west. It is a vast extent of country, without one city, and only a few scattered cottages. In the middle there are fine fruitful plains, but seldom any Muscovites venture thither, because of the danger of the ways, which runs thro' narrow defiles, and the want of guides who are acquainted with them. The inhabitants are idolaters, and usually either hunters or shepherds. The former live in caves, and the latter in huts, made of branches of trees, and covered with hides.

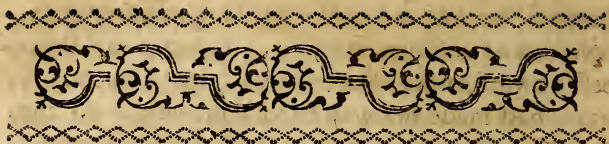
Baida. The province of Baida lies towards the Peisida, a large and deep river, which runs into the frozen sea. It borders upon the Tingoefes and Loppia, and was first discovered by the Muscovites.

The Tingoefes. The Tingoefes inhabit towards the Northern Ocean, far Eastward of the Samoiedes. They are less savage than the latter. The Jenisei, a river larger than the Oby, runs thro' the country, having on one side extreme high mountains, and on the other extensive plains, which it renders fertile by its annual inundations, as regular as those of the Nile.

Climate. It is impossible to give any general account of the air and seasons, in so vast an Empire as Muscovy, which, in Europe only, extends from the 47th to the 70th degree of North latitude. The greatest part of it must be extreme cold in Winter, when very little sun is there, and hot in the few months of Summer, when there is scarce any thing

thing else. At Petersburg, in latitude 60, the inhabitants are wrapped in furs for near 8 months of the year, and even their boots, which they wear constantly, are lined with them. The summer heats are as troublesome as the Winter colds, occasioned by the vapours which the sun raises, and which burst in thunder and lightening almost every day. The soil, principal rivers, and products of each particular province, we have mentioned in their proper place.

The general product and manufactures of Russia, *Product.* the ground of their commerce, are principally potash, weed-ash, leather, furs, linnen, flax, hemp, seal-skins, train oil, rosin, pitch, tar, caviare, tallow, honey, wax, ising-glass, timber and planks. But as no conveniences are wanting in the extent of this Empire, either for producing a greater number of commodities, or for exporting them to foreign countries, there is no judging what advantages may accrue from the article of trade, in progress of time, to the successors of PETER THE GREAT.



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK II.

History of the Czar Peter Alexiowitz, from his accession to the throne, till his taking of Asoph from the Turks.

Peter's accession. PETER, the son of Alexis Michaelowitz, and Natalia Kirilowna Naraskin, was born the 11th of June, 1672. He was but ten years old when proclaimed Czar, upon the death of his brother Theodore, to the prejudice of Prince John, who, as well for the weakness of his mind, as the imbecility of his body, was judged incapable of the government. The Strelitzes, excited by the Princess

Princess Sophia, an artful and ambitious woman, *Princess Sophia's intrigues.* revolted against him in favour of John, the Princess's own brother. She, who in Czar Theodore's time, had made her way from a monastery to the court, contrary to an antient custom then in being, and towards the end of his reign had far insinuated herself into the management of affairs, was too well acquainted with the character of Peter, and those who were like to be about him, to expect any great share in the administration under the young monarch. This, and the regret she conceived at seeing her own brother excluded from the crown, engaged all her address to prevail on some great men of the court, and in particular General Couvanski, president of the Strelitzes, and the palatine Odoyerski, to bring over the troops to John's interest.

Insurrection of the Strelitzes.

The more effectually to accomplish this, they secured the officers who were to attend the Czar Theodore's funeral. These declared to their respective companies, that Theodore had been poisoned by his physicians; and that the Naraskins, the maternal uncles of Peter, had smothered Prince John with a cushion. "And there is now a conspiracy, gentlemen, said they, against yourselves; for certain boyars have been tampering with us, to mix poison in the liquor, which, according to custom, is to be distributed to you at this solemnity." Their insinuation had all the effect they could wish for: the alarm-bell rung, and the whole city cried out, *The Naraskins have murdered Prince John.* The guards drew up in order of battle before the palace, on the 15th of May early in the morning, and demanded to have the Naraskins delivered to them: but Prince Odewski, for whom they had some respect, came and told them, they were imposed on; for both the Princes were alive, and if they would have but a little patience, he would bring them into their presence.

This

The massacre that ensued.

This might have suppressed the whole conspiracy, had not the Princess sent down some casks of brandy among the rioters, under pretence of quieting, but with intent to inflame them afresh, as it effectually did : for tho' the two Princes appeared immediately after, and in their own persons exhorted the soldiers to retire ; they again demanded the persons whom they suspected to be the authors of the late Czar's death : and, upon receiving a denial, they forced the gates, entered the apartments, and threw out of window all the officers they met with, others below catching them on their pikes. They came at last into the chamber of the young Czar, and massacred in his presence all who were fled thither for refuge : nor was their fury appeased with all this destruction ; for they entered the apartments of the Czarina dowager Natalia, mother of Peter, and robbed it of all the riches they could find there. They murdered her elder brother ; dragged out her father by force, and thrust him into a convent. Theodore Soltikow, who resembled another of the Naraskins ; Romadanowski, who had been Generalissimo of the Czar's army ; General Czeremetow, who lost the battle against the Poles in 1661, and had been redeemed but two years before ; General Dolhorouki, with his brother and two sons ; Landnow, secretary of state ; the chancellor, who had been recalled from banishment, restored to his office ; Tapkin, who concluded the last treaty of peace with the Turks ; Boutarkin, the physician in ordinary, and many other officers, were all put to the sword in this military execution. Their bodies were dragged into the market-place, and there exposed for three days successively. Their houses were pillaged and burned. In a word, the massacre continued till Prince John was proclaimed Czar, in conjunction with Peter. They were both crowned, and the Princess Sophia declared regent, which put an end to the rebellion,

During

During these disturbances, Anastasius Naraskin, *Fate of Anastasius Naraskin.* having hid himself in a church, the Czarina was induced by threats to discover him, Princess Sophia promising her own interposition with the populace in his favour. But all her intreaties were in vain, (and probably she, who was author of the whole mischief, desired they should be so;) the mob tore him from her, carried him into the chancery, before the president Couvanski, where, under pretence of many accusations, he was severely tortured, and afterwards brought into the market, and hewn to pieces.

The Czarina Natalia, soon after this, retired, *The Imperial family retire.* under pretence of devotion, with the Czar John, to the Troitski or Trinity Monastery, whither

Prince Boris Galliezin had already conveyed Peter. She summoned hither the nobility and most of the senators; who being together, sent to the rebels at Moscow, to demand the authors of this insurrection. Accordingly, and without hesitation, all who were known to be guilty were delivered up, together with the tenth man in every regiment of Strelitzes, amounting in all to above 2000. These unhappy wretches, looking on themselves as just victims to insulted authority, having received the sacrament, and taken leave of their families, came to the convent full of the most affecting penitence. They brought with them the instruments for their own execution, the ring-leaders having halters about their necks, and every three of the others bearing two of them a block, and the third a hatchet. When they came into the court of the convent, under the window where the two Czars were, they laid down their necks on the blocks, crying out, *We are all guilty, and it depends on the pleasure of the Czars to punish not only us, but all our families: let them pronounce our sentence.* In this posture they lay above three hours, before any resolution was taken. Mean while the pre-

Submission of the Strelitzes.

Their pre- president Couvanski was sent for, and taken into
sident seiz- custody, together with his son, before they could
ed ; reach the convent. The senators would have ex-

And exe-
cuted.

amined the case, according to the ordinary form of process : but Miloslauski addressing himself to the Czars, persuaded them to wave all trial, which could now be only a matter of form, since the prisoners had pleaded guilty. The rest of the council came into his sentiment, and the result of the affair was, that Couvanski and his son, with about thirty of the chief rebels, were beheaded, and all the rest dismissed. Miloslauski had a private reason for proceeding in this silent manner, which was never known till after his death.

Princess
Sophia's
authority.

Both the brothers now reigned, in conjunction with the princess, who had her image stamped on the coin, together with theirs, and signed all writings, not only in the Empire, but to foreign courts. She frequented the senate diligently, exhorted the members of it to their duty, governed with great prudence, and shewed a zeal for the welfare of the Empire. Her love to her brother

She gets a
wife for
her brother
John.

John, and hatred to Peter, made her zealous to procure a wife for the former, notwithstanding his ill state of health. The lady pitched upon was daughter of Alexander Soltikow, who had before been designed for Czar Theodore, and was counted the handsomest woman in the whole Russian Empire. She was brought to court in a disguised manner, that the match might not be prevented. From Siberia, of which her father was then governor, she was conveyed to Moscow, without any one's knowledge but the contracting parties ; and in three days after her arrival she was declared Czarina, and the nuptials consummated.

Endea-
vours to
spoil the
Czar Peter

While the interest of John, and the means of continuing the succession in his family, were thus promoted, the very education of young Peter was neglected. The Muscovite education was in general very bad, and that of Princes, exposed as they

they are to flattery more than truth, is seldom good in the most polite countries. But there was yet more in the case of Peter, whom all premeditated means were taken to spoil. The ambitious Sophia plainly foresaw, that if he one day proved the great Prince he seemed capable of making, her own authority must fall of course. She placed about him every object that might fix his attention, stifle his natural light, corrupt his heart, and debauch his manners. But neither can a good edu- *But to no purpose.* cation create a great character, nor a bad one spoil it. Heroes of all kinds come finished out of the hands of nature, and the qualities she gives them are insurmountable. An inclination for military exercises appeared in the very infancy of Czar Peter: he was then delighted with beating a drum, not as a mere childish diversion, but that he might learn the business of a soldier. By this means he became so expert, that he would frequently give lessons to those of the profession, the best of whom he excelled *.

But nothing was more remarkable in the youth of this monarch, than the strong antipathy he then had for water, which, had it not been removed, must have rendered ineffectual most of his great qualities. A Swedish officer, who lived thirteen years in the country, assures us, "that from the sixth to the 14th year of his age, Peter was so fearful of this element, that he could not look upon standing, much less running water, especially if attended with any noise; and that for this reason he never walked in the garden of his palace, which is watered by the river Moscua, nor would he cross over the smallest brook, tho' on a bridge, unless the windows of his coach were shut close." It may be worth while to relate the cause of this strange aversion, and how it was removed.

The Czar's antipathy to water.

F

* When

* Eloge, &c. par Fontenelle.

How contracted.

* When he was about five years old, his mother had him one day asleep in her lap, in a coach, and passing over a dam where there was a cataract, the violent fall of water awaked him in such a fright, as threw him into a fever, which, tho' he happily got rid of, it left such a terror on his spirits, as produced the above mentioned effect.

And how cured.

This aversion continuing, was matter of great concern to all about him, as it necessarily checked his enterprising genius. But one fine day Prince Boris Galliczin, his governor and chief favourite, persuaded him to ride into the country, and partake in a hunting-match, without informing him that there was any brook near that place. After a little diversion, Galliczin, cried out, *What hot weather! O that there was a river at hand, that I might jump in and bathe!*—How! said the young Czar, *would you kill yourself?* The Prince answered, *I have frequently bathed with your father, and yet your Majesty sees me alive. Nothing can be more wholesome in sultry weather.* The Czar was surpriz'd, and coldly replied, *I have heard that people are frequently drowned.*—Ay, said Galliczin, *but not in water scarce so high as one's knees. If you please, sir, I will send somebody to look for a stream, that you may see it is possible to bathe without drowning.*—The brook was easily found; the Czar rode towards it trembling, and stopped his horse a good way off. Galliczin ordered some men to cross it on horseback, forwards and backwards; upon which the Czar ventured to ride nearer. The Prince seeing this, rode through himself, and ordered some of his people to cross it on foot. They did: The Czar admired at what he saw; but at last had the courage to ride his own horse over. Pleased with what he had performed, he from that time used himself to the water, till, by de-

* Strahlenberg's description of the North and East parts of Europe and Asia. P. 273.

degrees, he got quite rid of this troublesome antipathy.

This Galliczin was nephew to the prime minister of that name, who made so great a figure during the administration of the Princess Sophia; to whom he was entirely attached, as his kinsman was to Peter. The characters of these two men, and the history of their respective fortunes, will take in most of the affairs during the Czar's minority.

The elder Galliczin, Prince Basil Basilowitz, *Character of the elder Galliczin.* was descended from the Jagellons, Grand Dukes of Lithuania; which made him no less considerable for his illustrious extraction, than for the high station he was advanced to. He was the ablest politician at that time in Muscovy; the most learned and accomplished of all the boyars; a friend to foreigners, and an encourager of industry: he would indeed have been without exception, had not his affection for his mistress led him beyond the bounds of his duty, and involved him in the ruin of that ambitious woman. It was chiefly owing to his advice and dexterity, that she was able so long to maintain her vast authority; which she, in return, exerted to the utmost in his support, against those of the boyars, who were in the interest of the Czar Peter. But at last, resolving no longer to be imposed upon by this over-grown favourite, (whose great credit with the Princess did not escape some malicious interpretations) the nobility found means to remove him from his employments, after several unsuccessful attempts.

Once he narrowly escaped an assassination, as he was going into his sled to wait on the Czar. *An attempt to assassinate him.* An obscure person, who had watched the opportunity, seized him suddenly by the beard, in order to stab him: but whilst he was drawing out his dagger, which, according to the Muscovite fashion, stuck in his girdle, the Prince's servants had the good fortune to stop his hand. The man, far from

being dispirited, openly avowed his intention, and told the Prince, "that three hundred citizens, out of pity to their country, had conspired his destruction, which some of them, he did not question, would take more certain measures to effect." He was going on with his reproaches, had he not instantly been dragged away to prison, where, after suffering the rack, he was privately executed, to prevent any disturbance from the people.

This outrage was soon followed by another, less dangerous indeed in its contrivance, but equally convincing to Galliczin of the sentiments the populace had of his ministry.

*Is chosen
General a-
gainst the
Tartars.*

A war breaking out between the Russians and Crim Tartars, a proper person was debated on to command the army of the former. Prince Galliczin would gladly have been excused, as well for fear of the enemies he must leave behind him at Court, as because he knew how much his credit must depend on the success of the expedition: but the reason of his refusal being sufficiently obvious, he was universally complimented into the acceptance of this charge, which he executed in two campaigns, in the years 1687 and 1689, with much more parade than real advantage. It was just upon his departure to the last of these, that a covered coffin was found at his palace gate, with a note enclosed, containing these words. *Galliczin,*

*A trick to
intimidate
him.*

unless the campaign thou art now going to open, prove more successful than the former, we are resolved to make sure work with thee.

*Throws the
disgrace
of his ill
success on
another.*

It is needless to enter into the particulars of a war, which consisted more of pompous preparations, and tedious marches, than any actions worthy of notice. Galliczin, though unexperienced in military affairs, had however the address in the first expedition, to throw off the odium that threatened himself, upon John Samuelerrick, Prince or Hettman of the Cossacks, who was instantly deposed, and Mazeppa, a man we shall have occasion

sion to mention hereafter, elected in his room; while Galliczin was received by the Princess regent with all the honours of a conqueror, and very magnificent presents. The next year he had penetrated farther than before, and with a more powerful army, when he surprized the world with a treaty of peace, just when it was expected he would have pushed the enemy to the last extremity. He was *Sells a* tempted, it seems, to act thus, by the promise of a *peace, and* very large sum of ducats: but when the barrels *is cheated* came to be opened, in which the purchase-money *in the pay-* was sent, a great part of their contents appeared *ment.* to be only counters.

As these Crim Tartars will frequently be mentioned in this history, I shall here give some account of them. Their chief seat is a fine fertile Peninsula, called antiently Taurica Chersonesus, surrounded partly by the Palus Maeotis, and partly by the Black Sea. Besides which their Cham or Prince reigns over a large tract of land to the Northward, and extending far east and west, including Nogai, Bongiac, and part of Circassia. They have lived many centuries in strict alliance with, or rather in heavy vassalage under, the Porte; and in case of a failure in the Ottoman male line, the Cham of Tartary is to succeed to the Turkish Empire. This Prince is called Emperor by his own subjects, and has great outward respect shewn him by the Porte; yet a little matter serves to depose him, and occasions of this nature are so frequently found, that few Chams have died upon the throne in an old age. The Tartars are the greatest thieves upon earth, and continually make inroads on their neighbours only to rob them: but at the same time, in imitation of their ancestors the Scythians, they are the most hospitable to strangers, when any pass thro' their country. When they go to war with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the Porte; but receive no other pay, except their booty. They were formerly victorious

*Account of
the Crim
Tartars.*

against the Russians, and have often penetrated into the very heart of their country. They once burnt the city of Moscow, and made the Czars submit to those scandalous terms, which were shook off by * John Basiliowitz.

*The Czar
Peter
married.*

Galliczin's expeditions against these people, were but a prelude to those of his master against the Turks, which soon after followed. The young monarch, now in the eighteenth year of his age, was married, during the minister's absence, to Ottokesa Federowna, daughter of the boyar Fedor Abrahamowitz. This affair, managed by Galliczin's enemies, and entirely against the inclinations of the Princess, increased the party of Czar Peter, which had hitherto been weakest. So that when Galliczin came home, he found all his measures disconcerted; a young Czarina big with child; a strong party of enemies, well informed of all the particulars of his dishonourable campaign; and a master, who now began to be so in fact, denying him audience at first, and hardly prevailed on to grant it at the intercession of the Princess: in a word, he underwent the most severe reproaches, and had nothing to plead in his own justification.

*Galliczin
discoun-
tenanced by
Peter.*

These presages of his approaching ruin, which began to draw on apace, engaged the unhappy minister to run every length, that the enterprizing genius of his mistress could find out. Unwilling to bear any controul, she in an arbitrary manner, according to the custom of the Russians after a victory, would distribute the Imperial favours to the general officers, as if they indeed had been victorious. But whereas it was before usual to give only a royal vest as the highest mark of honour, she bestowed on her favourite no less than 1500 peasants houses, and on the other commanders in proportion. Peter opposed this extravagant beneficence, and was for enquiring into the merit of
their

*But re-
warded by
Sophia.*

their respective services; but the regent's authority for this time carried it against the Czar's.

The Princess, having thus try'd her strength, *And resto-* brought Galliczin once more into full power: and, *red to* willing to prevent her own disgrace, which must *authority.* terminate in the being thrust again into a convent, she formed a design against the life of her brother. *A conspi-* Galliczin, tho' naturally a friend to moderate *racy a-* councils, perceived he had embarked too far in *gainst Czar* her interest to think of receding, and came easily *Peter.* into her scheme. But a number of men, entirely devoted to her service, was necessary in the capital. The Hettman Mazeppa owed his whole fortune to Galliczin's policy, and was therefore judged a proper instrument on this occasion. He was introduced, with 500 of his principal officers, under pretence of doing homage to the Czars, who would never admit him into their presence: for John, in spite of natural affection, was now so fully convinced of his sister's ambitious views, that he usually came wholly into Peter's interest, which was indeed his own.

One Theodore Thekelavita, who had been pre- *Thekelavi-* sident of the Strelitzes since the death of Couvanski, *tau under-* was pitched upon as the leading man in this bloody *takes to ex-* enterprize. Peter was at one of his country houses, *ecute it.* upon the river Yarus, a short league from Moscow, which was to be the scene of this horrid assassination. Among the 600 Strelitzes, who were to attend Thekelavita to this place, there were two however more faithful than the rest. These men, shock'd at what they had undertaken, escaped privately to Czar Peter, and warned him of his danger. *Disco-* The Czar jumped immediately out of *ver'd.* bed, sent for the Naraskins, his maternal uncles, and, after consultation, dispatched one of them, with Boris Galliczin the favourite, to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. They met Thekelavita on the road, hid themselves while he passed by with his troops, and then posted back to secure

cure the Czar; who had but just time enough to escape with his mother, his wife, and his wife's sister, to the Troitski monastery.

The Princess denies it.

When the traitor came to Obrogensko, the name of the seat, and found the Czar was missing, he could not guess the cause, nor learn it from any there present. But in the evening letters came to the Princess, reproaching her with her treacherous intent. She absolutely denied the matter, pretending these guards came only to relieve the others then on duty: but this excuse was thought very insufficient, because soldiers are always relieved in the day. The Czar published the attempt, ordered the militia to be raised, and summoned together the boyars, who in a week's time were with him in great numbers.

Endeavours to secure the Strelitzes.

But cannot make her own peace.

Galliczin was ordered to appear, but pretended he was restrained by Czar John, who indeed acted at this time just as directed by his sister. In order to secure the Strelitzes, he harangued them from the top of the palace stairs, insinuating that Peter had some designs against the peace of the state, and enjoining them not to obey his orders. The Princess repeated the same thing: but, spite of this, and all her other artifices, they deserted her interest, and soon obliged her to make application for her own security. Two of Peter's aunts, who knew nothing of the conspiracy, were employed for her mediators. The young Czar convinced them of his sister's horrid designs, and engaged them firmly to himself. He did the like by the patriarch, who was sent next on the same message, upon shewing the old prelate that he was to have been taken off himself, if the plot had succeeded, and the abbot Sylvester, a conspirator, advanced in his place.

Finding her interest, as well as authority, now at an end, the Princess, having secured Thekelavittau, set out in person, accompanied by Galliczin, for the Troitski monastery, in hopes to appease her brother,

brother, who had sent an order to the Strelitzes, to bring the traitors to him. The Czar Peter, resolving not to see his sister, had her stopped on the road, and ordered back to Moscow; whence she was soon after conducted to Dewitz, a little distant from town, and shut up in a monastery of her own building. Here she was kept the remainder of her life, which was fifteen years, from 1689 till 1704; but not without several efforts of herself and party, for restoring her to liberty and power, notwithstanding that none were permitted ever to see her, but by express leave of the Vice-Czar Theodore Rodomanofski.

*Is shut up
in a mona-
stery.*

Galliczin, with his son and several of his friends, were banished to Karga, a town in the North of Siberia, there to remain as long as he lived, with the poor allowance of three-pence a day for his subsistence. His palace was seized, and an inventory taken of all his goods and riches, for the use of the government. There was found an almost incredible number of costly moveables, and in one trunk, hid in a cellar, no less than 100,000 ducats in specie. As for Thekelavitau, after undergoing a severe examination, and the punishment of the Knout, he was beheaded, with two of his Strelitzes, who were to have been assassins. Others of that body were whipped, or had their tongues cut out, and then were sent to end their days in Siberia.

*The pu-
nishment
of Gallic-
zin and o-
ther con-
spirators.*

When the executions were over, the Czar Peter returned to Moscow, and made his publick entry, under a guard of 18,000 Strelitzes. The Czar John received him at the entrance of the palace, where they were reconciled in form. Thus ended this dangerous affair, which had well nigh cost the life of our hero, before he discovered any of those great qualities, which have since made him so deservedly famous.

*The Czars
reconciled.*

During

*Character
and history
of Boris
Galliczin.*

During the minority of Peter, Prince Boris Galliczin, cousin of the former, had been his chief favourite. He was of a character very different from his great relation, and always in the opposite interest; but, tho' a man of fine understanding, as his abilities for business were far inferior to the other's, and his personal vices much greater, especially in his youth, he had never been looked upon as any formidable rival. The Naraskins had been the chief cause of his advancement, and the introducing him so far into the good graces of his master. But now, upon the disgrace of the Princess Sophia and her minister, they began to aspire at the chief employments in the state; which made them envy their own creature, whose great interest in their nephew they esteemed the only obstacle to their ambitious views. The having three times rescued him from destruction, since the death of the late Czar, could not but leave a grateful impression on the mind of young Peter; and as he had been his governor, his most constant companion, and a party in all his pleasures, that first esteem was improved into a partial fondness for his person.

*Caball'd a-
gainst.*

Bent upon the ruin of this new minister, the Naraskins insinuated all they could think of to his disadvantage. "He must, they said, have been concerned in the late conspiracy, because he was so zealous to prevent his cousin's execution; and his Majesty might as well recall this latter from exile, as favour one so nearly his relation, who would undoubtedly pursue the same maxims, and might one day attempt to restore the Princess Sophia." It does not appear what ground they had for such intimations, or how they could hope to make them effectual. But an artful courtier, who has the ear of his master, can throw what colours he pleases on his adversary. Peter was long unwilling to be wrought upon, but consented at last to give his word, that his favourite should

should be confined to his own estate. The Prince heard of it, and, without waiting for his Majesty's order, retired thither. The Czar, reflecting on what he had done, sent courier after courier to bring him back. He was with the greatest difficulty prevailed on, and for some time continued in as high credit as ever. But by bestowing his favours in a scandalous manner, without regard to true merit, he at last rendered himself really obnoxious, and justly suffered the same disgrace as his cousin and predecessor, to the great joy of the Naraskins. *Disgrac'd.*

These men now succeeded to the power they had so long panted after, but made no better use of it than Prince Boris had done. So far was either of these administrations from being equal to that of the great Galliczin, (who had in the main his country's interest at heart, was a lover of learning and arts, and a man of great sobriety,) that people of the best understanding began to wish for his restoration, and might perhaps have attempted it, as believing his former treachery was entirely owing to his mistress, had not the introduction of a new favourite, one Le Fort, made him no longer necessary. Mr. De la Mortraye has given us the history and character of this extraordinary man, the substance of which here follows: *Succeeded to no advantage.*

“ M. Le Fort was of a reputable family at Geneva, some of whom were in the magistracy of that city. After having passed thro' his studies at college, his father gave him his choice of either the counting-house or long robe, for a profession to settle in. As his inclination was wholly for the army, the others were equally indifferent. But the father not encouraging his military taste, he desired to be sent to Amsterdam, as the best school for trade. M. Franconis, one of the most considerable merchants in the place, was chosen for his master; who, charmed with his genius and application, conceived a great esteem for him. Having *Origin of M. Le Fort*

*He goes to
Copenha-
gen.*

ing a ship laden for Copenhagen, M. Franconis complied with his man's desire, and gave him charge of the cargo.

Young Le Fort discharged his commission with great advantage to his master, even beyond what could be expected. In the mean time, his good air, and personal merit, gained him access to persons of the best distinction. His military taste began to revive at sight of the Danish troops, and prompted him to get acquainted with some of the officers. He even put himself under arms, exercised among the soldiers, and was master of all their discipline. But learning that the court of Denmark was going to send an ambassador to Moscow, who was looking out for pages that were tall and well made, he got himself recommended in that character. The minister, charmed with his person and address, told him it entirely depended upon himself, whether he would accompany him or not. As his excellency was not to depart for two months, Le Fort desired leave to write to his master and father, for their consent. In his letter to M. Franconis, he expressed his strong inclination to travel, and begged that he would join another letter to that he had sent his father, to obtain his leave. M. Franconis did so, and he said the kindest things possible of his servant; giving it as his own opinion, from what hitherto appeared, that the young man could not but succeed in whatever he undertook. Old M. Le Fort's answer was agreeable to his son's wishes, and brought with it a remittance for his particular occasions.

*Obtains
leave to at-
tend the
Danish
ambassador
to Moscow*

The ambassador, in his way to Moscow, staid some time at Mittaw in Courland, to execute a commission from the King his master. Here Le Fort ap-

*His sur-
prising pro-
gress in se-
veral lan-
guages.*

plied himself to learn the language of the country, which is a sort of Sclavonian, and got such a mastery of it, as to serve the ambassador for an interpreter all the rest of the journey; and afterwards

at

at the Russian court, where they speak another dialect of the Sclavonian, which he likewise instantly learned. In the mean time he perfected himself in the German, which he knew little of before, and came to understand the Danish.

As the ambassador's magnificence recommended him to Czar John, his personal merit did the same to Peter, who often visited him for the sake of his conversation. One day dining with his excellency, he took notice of Le Fort, who was waiting behind his master's chair, in his office of interpreter. His Majesty asked him what countryman he was? Where he had learned the Russian tongue? With other questions. Le Fort's answers were so satisfactory and respectful, that the Czar demanded if he would enter into his service? "Whatever ambition, says Le Fort, I might have to serve so great a monarch, I depend on a Lord who gives me so many marks of his bounty, that neither duty nor gratitude will allow me to promise." *But, said the Czar, if I have your master's consent, will you then be willing?* "Yes," replied our adventurer; but I beg your Majesty would ask by some other interpreter than myself. The Czar, by his own interpreter, said to the ambassador, *This young man speaks very good Russian.* The other answered, "He has a genius to learn any thing:" And related the surprising progress he had made in several other languages, all within the compass of four months. Le Fort withdrew to some distance, while his master was speaking his praises; and then the Czar turning his head, ordered him to bring him a glass of wine. His Majesty used him for an interpreter in the rest of that day's conversation; but nothing more passed concerning himself.

The next time the ambassador went to court, his Majesty declared he should be glad to have that young man about him. *Ask him, Sir, said he, if he is willing to serve me? If so, you shall have one of*

Taken notice of by Czar Peter

my interpreters while you have occasion. Consent being given, his Majesty added, *Well, let him come to me to-morrow morning at my levee.* Le Fort accordingly went, was immediately made first interpreter, and soon after became so much a favourite, that his Majesty carried him with him wherever he went, continually asked him questions about the courts he had seen, as Savoy, France, and Denmark, and other foreign matters; and was always charmed with his answers.

And made his first interpreter.

Talking one day of the King of Denmark's life-guards, the Czar asked him, what he thought of his, "Your guards, and all your Majesty's soldiers, said Le Fort, are fine well-made men, who want nothing but to be well disciplined, and clothed in a proper manner." He then objected against their long coats, as inconvenient and unbecoming a soldier. *Couldst thou let me see,* said the Czar, *some clothes that are more convenient?* Le Fort answered he would endeavour; went immediately to the Danish ambassador's taylor, was measured for a captain of the guards suite, and a private man's. Two days after he appeared in the first at the Czar's levee, who did not know him till he spoke; but then commended his diligence, and much approved the dress. In two days more he appeared in the other, which was equally pleasing; and the Czar declared he would have such for a whole company, who should be disciplined after the foreign manner.

Forms a new company of soldiers:

Le Fort sent to all the foreign merchants at Moscow, and went to some himself, for things necessary to clothe this company. All the taylor's he could find, in the houses of ambassadors and merchants, he took into pay, and obtained an order from the Czar for measuring some of the tallest and handsomest Strelitzes. He got together besides a number of foreigners, that had some military knowledge, and were already entered, or willing to enter into the Czar's service; had them clothed

clothed according to their respective posts, and at length completed a company of fifty men. At the head of these, with beat of drum, he appeared before the palace gate one morning, a little before the Strelitzes mounted guard. The Czar, coming to the window, was as much surprized as pleased at this spectacle. Their captain then gave them their first lesson of military exercise; which was no sooner over, but the Czar came down, and said he would enter into the company, ordering a *In which* suite of clothes to be made for him as a private *the Czar* centinel, (or, as M. Fontenelle says, a drummer.) *enters;* His Majesty, capable of every thing, soon excelled in his exercise, and was thus acting the part of a life-guard-man, while his brother John, more agreeably to his natural weakness, maintained the port of a Czar. Peter, willing to have all his troops disciplined in the same manner, commanded captain Le Fort to procure him all the foreigners he was able, and ordered him what money should be necessary. The captain made large remittances on this account, with great success, to Amsterdam, Geneva, and other places; not forgetting M. Franconis, who was no loser by the bargain.

Thus was the Czar furnished, at one and the same time, with a new species of soldiers, and another sort of minister than Russia had ever yet seen *. The rank his Majesty took in this com- *And passes thro' the meanest degrees of it.* pany, and the discipline he underwent, was not a vain representation, which served only to divert himself and his court. He absolutely forbid his captain to remember he was Czar, and performed his duty with all the regularity and submission that his place required. He lived upon his pay, and lodged in no better tent than another man of the same rank. At last he was made a serjeant, after having merited it in his officer's opinion, whom he would have punished for a partial

G 2

judg-

* M. de Fontenelle, Eloge, &c. p. 8.

judgment in his favour. Thus his elevation was like that of a foldier of fortune, whose very competitors must own it his due. By this he gave a lesson to his nobility, that birth alone was not a sufficient title to the attainment of military dignities, and informed his other subjects, that merit in the least of them was a valid qualification. The mean employs he passed thro', the hardships and fatigues he underwent, gave him a stronger right, than even his despotic authority, for requiring the same things of his people.

Makes a formidable body.

To this first company of fifty men, he soon added others, and formed at last a considerable corps, all commanded by foreigners, and disciplined after the German manner. As he was then at peace with his neighbours, he exercised them in mock battles and sieges : teaching them experience without loss of blood, and keeping in action that agility and courage which were the prelude of future victories. The Strelitzes, all this while, looked upon it only as the amusement of a young Prince, and took part themselves in the diversion of this new sight. But the Czar, perceiving them too powerful, and wholly devoted to his sister's interest, conceived from the first a design to humble their pride, which he would effect by securing a body of better disciplined, and more faithful troops.

Encourages a taste for magnificence.

The Czar Theodore, as we before took notice, had been a great lover of horses, magnificent dresses, and equipages. Peter, tho' for his own part he despised this pompous outside, as useless and burthensome, was yet pleased to see that his subjects, who had hitherto been too averse to every thing politely great, began by little and little to come into a better taste.

About the same time that he began this reformation in his army, an accident started that put his Majesty on a new pursuit still more difficult than the

the former. A small English vessel, which he saw floating on a lake at Ismaeloff, one of his pleasure houses, where it had long laid abandoned and useless, revived in him the spirit of his father Alexis Michaelowitz, and gave him the notion of a fleet, tho' he had at that time no place where to use it, except the White Sea. He found a ship carpenter, a Dutchman, who, for want of other employ, had been obliged to turn joiner; got the vessel repaired, had it worked in his presence, and resolved to have more of them as soon as possible. Accordingly, procuring a number of foreign workmen, he had first several little boats built at Moscow, and then four frigates, of four guns each, upon the Pereslauski lake. These were often engaged against one another, the Czar himself being present: and in 1694, his Majesty visited Archangel, went on board the English and Dutch ships, and got all possible information concerning marine affairs. He did the same again the next year; and in 1696, after some search for a convenient place, workmen were sent to Veronitz, where an undertaking was begun quite new in Russia; the building of ships, gallies, and other vessels, which were to fall down into the Don, and thro' that to the Black Sea, after the taking of Afoph, which his Majesty this summer first attempted.

*Conceives
the idea of
a marine.*

Czar John dying in the beginning of this year, 1696, Peter, now sole monarch, was in a condition to execute what he could not before, during their divided authority: and from this period of his life, we may date the commencement of all his great actions. John left him behind three daughters, one of whom, Anne Joannowna, is the present Empress of Russia. A late writer tells us, * it was observable in this Prince, that tho' his understanding was but weak, yet he was very

*Death and
character
of Czar
John.*

haughty and severe. However, he had great regard for the welfare of the Empire; and tho' he loved his sister very much, yet her reigning jointly with him, and his brother, did so little please him, that, upon all occasions, he rather sided with his brother than with her. He also often declared, that when once his brother was of age, he would reign no longer. His own widow has said, that when she once told him the Czar Peter slighted Princess Sophia too much, his answer was, "She is my own sister, but has used Peter so ill, she does not deserve we should look upon her; and if you speak ill of him, I shall esteem you his second enemy. The welfare of the whole Empire depends on him, which I am bound to set a greater value upon, than even upon you, my dearest wife." He behaved thus to his last moments.

Prince Alexis born 1690.

His mother repudiated.

The death of Czar John, added to the birth of Prince Alexis Petrowitz about six years before, entirely cut off all hopes from the Princess Sophia and her party. This Prince Alexis was the unhappy Czarewitz, whose conspiracy, trial, and death, made so much noise in Europe many years since. His mother was almost equally unfortunate; for about a year after his birth, she was repudiated upon a pretence of disloyalty; tho' the true cause of her disgrace was ascribed to the resentment of a new favourite. Alexander Menzikoff, who had a little before been raised from among the dregs of the people. Nay, the enemies of Menzikoff did not stick to affirm, that he not only caused the Czar to divorce and imprison this lady, whose virtue was never suspected, upon some reproaches, (violent indeed, but not without cause, and which her jealousy extorted from her) that he carried her husband among lewd women, formerly his customers for cakes; but that, not satisfied with revenging these affronts on her own person, he carried his resentment even to the son, whom he caused

the

the Czar to disinherit, and afterwards to condemn to death, to make way for another successor.

But to return to M. Le Fort, which will lead us to the advancement of Menzikoff. Never was there a minister in Russia, of whom the people to this day speak with the same respect as of that foreigner*.

More of Le Fort's character.

He never, say they, gave any ill advice to the Czar; but, on the contrary, saved the lives, liberties, and fortunes of a great number of his richest and most illustrious subjects, by putting himself between them and death, when his Majesty, naturally violent, and in his youth inclined to cruelty, was ready to pronounce the severest sentence, and perhaps to execute it with his own hands. This generous behaviour, not only disarmed his Majesty's ferocity, but sometimes made him affectionately kiss both the victim and the mediator.

The foreigners Le Fort had brought into his service, among whom were many artificers, were so agreeable to the Czar, that he resolved to introduce arts and sciences into his dominions. But Le Fort told him, his finances wanted to be reformed, as much

as his troops; for that otherwise his revenues would not answer the expences of his great designs, and the support of such a number of foreigners, who could be allured into his dominions only by a view of great advantage. The Czar consented to follow his advice; and this worthy minister having represented that the reason why his revenues were so inconsiderable in ready money, was the height of the taxes on all commodities, which proved a great encouragement to smuggling; he put him upon reducing the duties from 10 to 4 or 5 *per Cent*, with severe penalties on those who attempted to defraud his Majesty of them.

He improves the finances.

By this means the people were brought to pay more equally, and with greater chearfulness; so that near two millions of roubles extraordinary were

* M. de la Motraye.

were produced to the treasury the first year. And Le Fort having thus put it in his master's power to pay the foreigners generously and regularly, a great number of all nations came over, especially Germans, Scots, and French; not only officers and soldiers for the army, but able men of all professions, some of whom acquired immense fortunes.

*Recommends
Menzikoff
to the Czar*

But to take away all cause of jealousy from the Russian subjects against foreigners, M. Le Fort recommended to the Czar for preferment, all those natives whom he and the others had made capable of filling the most lucrative posts. Of this Alexander Menzikoff was an instance, who was crying his Piragi Podovi, or puff-cakes, about the streets of Moscow, when M. Le Fort arrived there: but that minister both made him capable of holding the several employments he had in the army, before he was made a Prince by the Czar's favour, and recommended him to them. In a word, Le Fort was disinterested to that degree, that he never would accept of any presents from those he had advanced: yet, being in this high situation, he got riches enough by his merit, his services, and other just and honourable means, which he possessed without envy from the Russians, who looked upon him as their father.

*Original of
that fa-
vourite.*

Menzikoff was tall and well made, and had a natural sprightliness of temper. All this was taken notice of by the Czar, who saw him one day crying his puffs, and singing songs about the streets. Being called by his Majesty, and asked some trifling questions, as whether he would sell his puffs and his basket? he gave such pleasing answers, that the Czar then declared, according to Motraye, he would make his fortune, and immediately put him into a small place at court. However that might be, it is certain he was taken no farther notice of at present; and we find him afterwards a soldier in the second regiment of Le Fort's establishment, which

which perhaps might be the only preferment the Czar then gave him.

* He was 21 years of age, when he first entered among the soldiery, where he continued about two or three years. As the guard of the Czar's person, and the charge of the city, were then committed to the troops of the foreign discipline, it was young Menzikoff's great good fortune to stand centinel at the Bashna, (the office where the muster rolls, and the drums and colours of the regiment were kept) one evening when the Czar passed by, to see with what exactness the soldiers upon guard observed their orders. There had that evening been directions given, that the centinels should interrogate each passenger thrice, *Who he was?* And if no answer was given, to fire directly. His Majesty coming about 10 o'clock, and giving no answer to the question, Menzikoff fired his piece at him, but happily without damage. The commanding officer, with the rest in the guard-room, were alarmed, and searched about for the person shot at, either dead or alive. No one being discovered, an officer guessed it must be the Czar, (who had been used to make such visits) and upon this conjecture they seized Menzikoff, and made him prisoner. Next morning the Czar sent to enquire, who had kept the guard at such a post last night at 10 o'clock. Every one was ready to tell of Menzikoff, in order to clear themselves. Immediately Menzikoff was ordered away under a file of musqueteers, and brought into the Czar's presence. This incident, which was thought to presage the utmost ruin to the young fellow, proved the rise of the greatest and wealthiest favourite that has been known for many years in any court of Europe.

*True cause
of his pro-
motion.*

Terrified with the thoughts of last night's action, and chilled with the dread of what he
ap-

* Consett's preface to the State of the Russian church.

apprehended would be his certain destiny, Menzikoff came trembling into the sun-shine of Majesty. The Czar was exceedingly pleased with his conduct, but disssembled his satisfaction while he examined into the reasons of it. Menzikoff falling down at his Majesty's feet, alledged in his defence the orders of the superior officers, and protested he did not conceive the person he shot at to be his sovereign. The Czar then pardoned him, ordered him to stay in the room, and at dinner time placed him at table with himself and his nobles. His sheepish looks and aukward behaviour made a great deal of mirth for the company, and the Czar himself broke several jests on that subject. But Le Fort soon discovered, under that disguise, a genius capable of great things. He nursed and cultivated the generous seed, and brought the young Russian forward in his master's favour, by such surprising steps, that he soon became the envy of all the great men of the Empire. Happy had it been for his country, if this minister had pursued the steps of his predecessor; but, notwithstanding his great abilities, the many exactions he laid on the people, the numerous executions he occasioned, his haughtiness to the old nobility, his boundless ambition and avarice, made him the object of general hatred, and at last brought on his ruin, tho' not till after the death of his master. The Czar Peter himself was not insensible of these faults in him, and more than once severely punished them; but could not part with a servant, whom, upon the whole, he found so very faithful.

His character.

The many great things the Czar had in view, for the good of his subjects, made him neglect for some time the war against the Tartars, which he had resolved to pursue after the disgrace of Galliczn, in spite of the dishonourable treaty made by that general. As a war with these people would in all likelihood bring on one with the Turks, and

as his Majesty was much invited to break with these latter by the Emperor, the Poles, and the Venetians, who were already jointly engaged against them, he declared war with the Porte in 1694, and pursued it with a success that first raised the reputation of his arms. *The Czar breaks with the Turks.*

The first thing done was to clear the eastern banks of the Wolga from the Tartars, who made frequent incursions into the Muscovite dominions, ravaging far and near, according to their usual method. They were soon effectually drove back by the troops his Majesty sent; and at the same time the Cossacks, who were his subjects, fell upon a great body of Crim Tartars on the side of Circassia, gave them a total defeat, and left 15,000 dead on the field. General Gordon, a Scots gentleman, and an officer of great experience, entered Circassia itself, and after giving the Tartars several more overthrows, reduced the whole country to the Czar's obedience. *Repels the Tartars in several places.*

His Majesty seeing his army so successful on this side, immediately perceived a way open for making himself powerful by sea; a project he had long conceived, but never found practicable till now. Tho' the Wolga be a great river, and runs above 2500 miles, yet has it no depth of water at its influx into the Caspian Sea, being every where chocked up with flats and sands: nor is the sea itself, for many leagues on the Russian side, capable of any considerable navigation; for which reason it has never yet borne any ships of burthen. Besides, had this sea been ever so navigable, as it respects only Armenia, Georgia, Persia, and part of Tartary, it could not suffice for any of the Czar's glorious projects, either of conquest or trade. But the Black Sea lay convenient for both, opened a way into lesser Asia, and to the gates of Constantinople itself: so that being once master of that, he might, either by force or treaty, obtain a passage thro' the Hellespont, into the Mediterranean Sea. *Forms a project of becoming powerful by sea.*

Sea, and establish a free commerce between his country and the ports of Italy, France, Spain, and the whole Turkish Empire, which would give him a share in all the trade of the universe. Here, as * one observes, was a field of action large enough to gratify the ambition of a sovereign, born for great things, and who possessing an Empire superior to any of his neighbours, wanted nothing but an entrance upon the stage of greatness, that he might act like himself.

Appears before Asoph.

In pursuance of this design, he pushed on his war with the Turks, which was to give him footing on the coast, and hastened the marine preparations at Veronitz, which were to secure him the possession when once obtained. Having concerted measures with his Allies, at the beginning of the year 1695 he appeared with two armies in the field. The first, consisting of 90,000 foot and 20,000 horse, led by his majesty in person, marched into Circassia, and entering the Turkish dominions, sat down before Asoph, an important fortress upon the banks of the Tanais, near where it empties itself into the Palus Maeotis. The other army, containing 24,000 foot and 36,000 Cossack horse, commanded by Lieutenant-General Czeremetoff, marched by the way of the Ukrain, and keeping the course of the great river Boristhenes, sat down before Kasikermeen, a Tartarian city of great strength, within two leagues of the Black Sea. These places were equally considerable, as they were situated at the two great entrances into the Pontus Euxinus, that were nearest his Czarish majesty's dominions.

And Czeremetoff before Kasikermeen.

It was an agreeable surprise to the Christian world, when they saw the Czar break with the Turk in a juncture so very seasonable to the confederates, to find a Prince, of whose genius they had yet formed no notions, begin a war with such

* Life of the Czar, by a British officer.

such apparent proofs of an exquisite foresight, and a perfect understanding of the consequence of what he had undertaken. The Turks, on the other hand, having lately received several terrible overthrows, and already lost the Morea, great part of Hungary, and some considerable places in Dalmatia, were in the utmost consternation at an attack so very sensible, from such a formidable power. They now saw their mistake, in that, having had Asoph many years in their possession, they never considered it as one of the most important barriers of their whole empire. The situation of the place, in a low marshy ground, made it capable of so good fortifications, that it could be taken only by a vigorous bombardment: but the best they could now do, was to supply the weakness of the fortifications by the strength of the garrison: they sent thither 10,000 of the most resolute Janissaries, besides Tartars, under their most experienced officers, and with all manner of provisions for a vigorous defence.

The Muscovites, as yet, had but little experience in carrying on a siege; and the garrison so well did their duty, that tho' the Czar attacked it in form, battered it with 100 pieces of cannon, and 40 mortars, he was so harrassed by the desperate sallies of the Turks, and a continual fire *The siege of Asoph raised.* from the walls, that the Winter coming on, and provisions growing scarce, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and retire with considerable loss. * One Jacob, a foreign engineer, was partly the occasion of this ill success; who having been kept out of his pay by the boyar he served under, nailed up the cannon he was entrusted with, deserted to the enemy in the night, and advised them to a final sally, which put the Muscovites into confusion.

*

H

Kasi-

* Perry's present state of Russia.

*Kasiker-
meen taken*

Kasikermeen, tho' better fortified than Asoph, was not so well defended. The Cossacks, under Prince Czeremetoff, pushed on their attacks with such fury, that they carried the place sword in hand, the garrison having but just time to retreat into two large forts, where they obtained articles of capitulation. The Prince was censured in regard to this action, for suffering the Cossacks to plunder the place after articles were signed; and his disgrace, which followed soon after, was ascribed to the complaints against him on that head. However, as he was again restored to his master's favour, we may presume he cleared himself of that accusation.

*New pre-
parations.*

The Czar was not idle during the Winter. The prodigious preparations made in his vast dominions, for re-uniting his army, remounting his cavalry, and supplying his magazines, intimated plainly that the design upon Asoph was not laid aside. But the expeditious manner in which he furnished himself with a fleet, by having vessels built on the river Occa, carried over land to the Don, and conveyed down that river together with those from Veronitz, surprized all the world.

*Neglected
by the -
Turks.*

If the Turks committed an oversight in not fortifying of Asoph before, they were guilty of the most inexcusable neglect in not securing it now: but such was their contempt of the Russian skill in war, after what had happened the last year, that they thought them incapable of giving much molestation. Mean time the garrison was daily weakened, in their sallies on the Muscovite blockaders, and their magazines continually exhausted. The Porte neglected to supply them by sea, and the Muscovites prevented the bringing in any thing by land: so that with a much less number, and worse provided than last Summer, they were this year to withstand double the strength, joined to more experience. The Czar had now prepared no less than 400 pieces of cannon, and 150 mortars.

The

The body of the army arrived before Asoph at the end of April; but the rivers being not yet open for bringing down the vessels laden with artillery and provisions, till the middle of May, the siege was not actually formed till the beginning of June. Yet the Turks omitted to relieve the place till the middle of July, when their fleet began to appear on the Black Sea, and found by sad experience they were come too late.

*The second
siege of
Asoph.*

The Czar was arrived in person when the siege began, and met with a resolute defence from the garrison. General Gordon, who commanded, sent summons after summons, threatening them with no quarter if the place was taken by storm. The ground did not admit of carrying on trenches, and 300 pieces of cannon upon the works continually demolished the Muscovite batteries. Upon this, the General contrived a rolling parapet, which, with a multitude of hands, and about 3 weeks labour, he brought to perfection. It was begun at a good distance from the place, and, by the continual application of 30,000 men, who were relieved every four hours, it came gradually forwards, the men behind throwing up the sandy earth from the bottom, and others tossing it to one another upon stages, till the uppermost threw it quite over the top. They brought it at last within half a musket's shot of the walls, which it every where overlooked, to the astonishment and terror of the besieged. Mean while the mortars, now effectually secured from all damage, played incessantly upon the town, till all the houses were reduced to ashes; nor durst the Janissaries appear on their works, but they were immediately knocked down with small shot from the rolling bank, which hung over them like a mountain.

*A rolling
parapet.*

While this was doing by land, the Czar, who took upon him in particular the direction of the navy, brought his gallies down by a channel of the river Don, that was out of the reach of the cannon

*The Czar
brings
down his
fleet.*

of Asoph, and judged impassable. The besieged were astonished when they saw him with a fleet below the town, having thought it impossible for him to get out; but under the mouth of their guns. His Majesty then caused several batteries of cannon to be planted in a small island, on the other side the river Don; and drawing up all his shallows and brigantines behind the island, waited the arrival of the Turkish fleet. At length it appeared in the Palus Macotis, standing in among the islands in the mouth of the Don; so that the first thing it had to encounter was the Czar's gallies, which drawing much less water than those of the Turks, could go farther upon the shallows. The Ottoman fleet consisted of 12 large gallies, 30 armed brigantines, and about 60 transport ships; having on board 8000 soldiers, a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, and 50,000 ducats in money to pay the garrison.

*Beats that
of the
Turks.*

The Turkish saicks and brigantines, endeavouring to shun the Russian gallies, kept among the islands in shoal water: which the Czar perceiving, he took a sufficient number of troops into his shallows and brigantines, and bringing them out from their ambuscade, fell upon the enemy with such bravery and success, that they were entirely defeated, and the whole convoy taken in sight of the garrison, not one vessel being able to reach the town. This overthrow of the fleet was followed by the surrender of the town, the garrison capitulating on the 28th of July. His Majesty gave them very honourable terms, in consideration of their bravery. It was said that out of 12,000, which were at the beginning of the siege, not above 1300 men marched out of the town. The Russians found there 300 pieces of cannon, besides a great quantity of ammunition.

*Asoph sur-
renders.*

This glorious victory of the Czar's was the more talked of, and his personal bravery and conduct the more magnified, (tho' indeed too much could

could hardly be said of either) because it was a new thing to hear of any great and regular action from a Muscovite army, and much less of a warlike Emperor at their head. It was thought a happy presage to all Christendom, and a fatal omen to the Ottoman power, that a people hitherto despised, led by a Prince hardly yet known, could perform so much in the most difficult parts of war; especially as they had all the advantages of number, extent of territory, and plenty of supplies, to make them a match for any power on earth.

H 3

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK III.

*From the taking of Asoph, till the Reformation of
the Russian Year, and the beginning of the War
with Sweden.*

*The Czar
new forti-
fies Asoph.*

THE Czar having made himself master of Asoph, was far from leaving it in the condition he found it. He not only repaired the old works, but ordered it to be strengthened with new fortifications; added two new bastions; caused a counterscarp, with a covered way, to be drawn round the whole, and the ditch to be secured with all

all such necessary outworks, as might render it inaccessible ; letting in the river Don likewise almost round the town. In the marshy grounds, which the river usually overflowed, he laid a solid foundation, raised the surface to a considerable height, and built a royal fort upon it, containing six regular bastions, with proper outworks ; joining the whole to the main land, with a stone bridge of 36 arches, reaching all over the morafs. The ground round it could be laid under water, by sluices appointed for that purpose. In this posture, stored with military provisions, having 400 pieces of cannon mounted, and a garrison of 15,000 men, he left Afoph in the year 1697.

His success in the reduction of this place, by the help of his vessels, made him more than ever sensible of the importance of a maritime force. Gallies and brigantines were not sufficient ; he resolved to have capital men of war, from 60 to 80 guns, and declared his intention to the boyars ; but he perceived also the great disadvantage of buying them from other powers, or having them built by foreign workmen, as all his vessels had hitherto been. He resolved to deliver himself from this inconvenience : * But as the means he concerted for doing it were too extraordinary to be put in deliberation, and as the execution of his project, trusted to any other but himself, would be very uncertain, or at least slower than he desired, he engaged his own person in a bold undertaking, so extravagant in appearance, that had it failed of success, all the world would have censured his rashness, except those few who can distinguish true grandeur where-ever it appears. It was no less than travelling himself, to acquire that knowledge he wanted his subjects to learn. In the mean time his foreign workmen were all employed,

*Resolves on
building
large men
of war.*

* M. de Fontenelle.

ployed, and every thing done that was yet in his power.

*Enters
Moscow in
triumph.*

But before he set out, in order to give his people an idea of this great undertaking, he made a triumphant entry into Moscow, for his late naval victory, with all the pomp and splendor that could be devised. Here was none of that vain ostentation so remarkable among the antient Romans, but an attempt to shew the value of what he had chiefly at heart, and to stir up an emulation in the nobility to support it. The traitor Jacob, who had rendered ineffectual the first siege of Asoph, and was delivered up by the Turks in the second, was carried naked and chained to a stake in an open waggon, with a gibbet over his head; on which, after he had been three times tortured, he was publicly hanged for a terror to others. All the boyars appeared on this occasion, to compliment his Majesty, and kiss his hand. After which there was an assembly, in which he repeated to them the nature and advantages of his conquests on the Black Sea, declared his resolution of endeavouring to maintain them, and if possible to open a channel for commerce into the Levant. Hence it was easy to argue the necessity of a fleet, such an one as might be a match for the Grand Seignior's. Lastly, he published his intention of travelling, in order to gain experience in the art of ship-building, which they wanted no materials, nor any other advantages, to bring to as much perfection as any of their neighbours.

*Obliges his
subjects to
build ships.*

The business of the day being over, he began to think of a proper fund, for carrying on his designs, and for providing such men of war as were immediately necessary. The great Lords, who had vast estates, and a proportionable number of slaves, were obliged each of them to build a ship at his own cost, which he might call too by his own name. The monasteries, the cities and towns, the merchants and gentlemen, were all

to contribute towards this new undertaking : and if the ships were not ready in three years, every man's proportion was to be doubled.

Another instance of his great penetration, before he set out, was no less remarkable than any we have related. He sent the principal young Muscovites, sons of the boyars and gentlemen, into different parts of Europe, hinting to every one, according to the different dispositions he perceived in them, the science they ought peculiarly to study. What he chiefly directed them to, were the mathematicks, navigation, engineering, and such other parts of knowledge as might contribute to his grand design. And, to prevent any uneasiness at this injunction, he ordered them stipends at the publick charge. Yet some of them obeyed with great reluctance, and one in particular, who retired to Venice, shut himself up there four years, to have the satisfaction of coming home as ignorant as he went thence. But the expedient in general had the desired success, as well by keeping them out of the way during his own absence, and so preventing any cabals against him, as in opening to them new sciences, in the different nations of Europe, which engaged their curiosity, and were turned by many of them to real advantage.

While the Czar was thus busied in laying the foundations of glory and greatness for his subjects, they, resisting their own advantage, were conspiring against his life. † The building of ships, which had never been known in Russia before, and the obliging the boyars and gentlemen to travel, were looked upon as terrible grievances : the first would entail a charge upon them beyond the common tax, besides bringing in foreigners to build and navigate their vessels ; and as to the latter, it was insinuated by the priests, that the sending their children abroad would be a means

And the young nobility to travel.

A conspiracy against him.

of

† Perry's State of Russia, p. 152.

of corrupting their religious principles. These texts of scripture were effectually urged, which forbade the Israelites to have any communication with the nations round about them, that they might not partake of their idolatry: for which reason the Russian envoys, who had formerly been sent to foreign courts, were prohibited taking their sons with them; and it was death for any Muscovite to go out of his country without leave from the patriarch. The Czar, they said, adhered wholly to strangers, went daily to their houses, and admitted them freely to his conversation. This was judged in him very criminal, and made use of by the Princess Sophia's friends, who wanted to be again at the head of the government.

*How to be
executed.*

His Majesty, who always interested himself in whatever concerned his subjects welfare, was wont to appear in person at the fires, which frequently happen in Moscow, where most of the houses are entirely wood. After many debates, concerning the manner of effecting their design, it was resolved by the conspirators to set some houses on fire in the night, and while the Czar came to help to extinguish the flames, to assassinate him amidst the confusion: Unnatural project, to engage their sovereign in an act of the greatest tenderness to his people, in order at that instant to effect their parricide! the next things to be done were, to join the Don Cossacks with their party; to release the Princess Sophia from her confinement, and set the crown on her head; to recal the Prince Basil Galliczin from Siberia, and surrender to him the administration of the government under the Princess; who was, in return, to restore the Strelitzes to their antient station. Three great boyars, a chief colonel of the Don Cossacks, and four captains of the Strelitzes, were to put this design in execution.

On the 1st of February 1697, the day before the catastrophe was agreed on, two of the captains, Largon Gilifaroski, and Gregory Siferi, were touched with compunction at what they had undertaken. Hearing that the Czar was then at supper at M. Le Fort's, they went and threw themselves at his feet, confessed their own crimes, and discovered all the persons concerned in the conspiracy. The Czar heard it without any great emotion; and rising from table, went directly, followed by a few of his most faithful friends, to the house of John Sickler, a chief conspirator, and the more wicked for being so, as he had lately been advanced by the Czar to the dignity of councillor of state. His Majesty entered with only three gentlemen, and pretending he had occasion to ask Sickler's advice on some important affair, brought him to the door, where he was seized by those who waited without, and carried to prison. The other two boyars, Alexis Sekounin and Feodore Puskin, the two captains, and the Donski colonel, were all taken without any noise. They confessed their crimes, and received their sentence from the whole body of the boyars, which was executed on the 5th of March in the great market-place before the castle. Their legs and arms were first cut off, and then their heads. These were fixed on iron spikes, upon a tall stone column erected for that purpose; and the other limbs were hung round about it. The trunks were left exposed till the frost broke, and the scent became nauseous, when they were thrown into a pit among common thieves. Several others were accused; but it not appearing they had any design against his Majesty's life, they were pardoned and acquitted.

It now appeared in some of their confessions, that Miloslavski, who had been so urgent for a sudden execution of the conspirators in 1682, was himself at the head of that conspiracy: upon which his body was disinterred, tho' it had lain near

*Discovered
and puni-
shed.*

*Miloslav-
ski's body
taken up.*

near twelve years, and the quarters of it hung on gibbets, where they were torn in pieces by the enraged multitude.

*Successes
against the
Tartars.*

During these transactions, expresses frequently came from General Schein, who commanded the army at Asoph, with news of advantages gained over the Tartars and rebel Cossacks, great numbers of whom were cut off, and their country stripped of every thing valuable. As to the Turks, they had their hands full in Hungary with the Imperialists, who had given them several great overthrows, and made them tremble for Constantinople itself: they were in no condition therefore to attempt the recovery of Asoph; so that his Majesty was quite easy on the side of the Black Sea. This made him renew the preparations for his travels, and publicly consult in what character he should appear. His real one, that of Emperor, would by no means do, because it would prevent his inspecting personally into minute things, would burden him too much with ceremony, and besides would be very expensive: all which objections were made by his Majesty.

*Method of
travelling
fixed on.*

Some proposed, that, in imitation of several boyars the preceding year, he should travel as a Greck priest: others were for the disguise of an Armenian merchant, and others for that of a private gentleman. But at last M. Le Fort thought of a method which the Czar immediately approved, as it was consistent with the honour and safety of his person, and would yet give him all the opportunity of concealment he could desire. It was, that his Majesty should send a solemn embassy to all the courts he intended to visit, with compliments, and proposals of friendship and commerce; and that he should travel *incognito* in the retinue of the ambassadors, under the protection of the said embassy, whereby it would be known that he was personally present, at the same time that he was

at

at liberty to receive just as much ceremony as he saw convenient.

The persons pitched upon for ambassadors *A grand embassy prepared.* were, Le Fort himself, Lieutenant-General of the army, and admiral of the fleet; Theodore Alexis Gollowin, since great chancellor of the Empire; Procofet Bodgnanowitz Wolwitzin, who had been employed in several embassies to the Grand Seignior. Alexander Menzikoff, the favourite, who had then no character, was in their retinue. Le Fort was put first in the commission, as he was acquainted with the manners and customs of foreign countries, and master of several languages. The rout of the embassy was to be through Prussia to the Court of Berlin; thence to Holland; from Holland to England, and back again; then to Vienna, and last of all to Venice. It is said his Majesty set apart above two millions of Roubles, or near 800,000 l. sterling, for the expences of this journey: most of which was laid out in buying ships, arms, and ammunition, with materials for forwarding several sciences in Muscovy. He took with him also a large quantity of furs; several bales of rich cloth of gold, the manufacture of Georgia and Persia; a number of very valuable jewels, and some fine Turkish and Tartarian horses; all for presents at those Courts where the embassy was to appear in ceremony. About 40 of the prime noblemen, or their sons, were obliged to make up part of the train; which was called in honour done them, but designed in reality to secure them from plotting during his absence. Others of the boyars were ordered to retire to their country seats, and not come to Moscow upon pain of death.

The administration of the civil government was left in the hands of three great Lords; Prince Leof Corilich Naraskin, his Majesty's maternal uncle, and esteemed the Prime minister; Prince Boris Galliczin, now again in favour, and Lord

High treasurer; and the Lord Peter Procorofski: all faithful servants, entirely devoted to his Majesty's interest. The military trust was committed to the generals Schein and Gordon. The first had the command of the army against the Turks, in which were all the suspected Strelitzes. About 12,000 other soldiers, chiefly with foreign officers, were quartered in the suburbs of Moscow, under General Gordon, who, by his bravery and success, had acquired both the love of the army, and the esteem of the whole Empire. His command extended all over the Northern and Western provinces, as the other's did over the Southern and Eastern.

His Majesty comes to Riga; and is affronted.

The Czar set out in May, 1697. The first great city he came to was Riga, a very strong place, regularly fortified after the modern way, and then in the hands of the Swedes. His Majesty not having seen the like before, was led by his curiosity farther than the government of the town was willing to permit, and received a repulse when he desired to view the fortifications. The magistrates, fearing they should be called to an account by the Court of Stockholm, pretended they did not know who he was, nor whence he came: which so disgusted him, that he made this treatment of his ambassadors (for he did not mention himself) one of the motives for entering into a war with Sweden.

Promises to support Augustus as K. of Poland.

While the Czar was in his way from this city, he received advice, by an express, that the Elector of Saxony was chosen King of Poland; but that the cardinal primate had protested against his election, in favour of the Prince of Conti, who lay with a squadron of French men of war before Dantzick. His Majesty hereupon immediately dispatched orders to his ambassador in Poland, to maintain the right of the election; to assure King Augustus, that he had 60,000 men ready for his service, in order to maintain his pretensions; and that

that he had dispatched orders to his troops about Smolensko and the Ukrain, to advance towards the frontiers of Lithuania, and secure that great Duchy in his interest. This declaration of so powerful a neighbour had a good effect on the Poles, and determined them to support King Augustus. On the contrary, the French, who were baulked of their expectations, were very angry with the Czar for this interposition.

His Majesty found himself better treated at the next place he came to, which was Koningsberg, the capital of ducal Prussia. Hither the Elector of Bradenburgh, afterwards King of Prussia, came with his whole Court to receive and entertain him; and here the Czar resolved to shew the world the first specimen of his magnificence. Accordingly his ambassadors made a most splendid public entry, with their retinue of 300 persons, several little troops of guards armed, and abundance of young nobility, who were afterwards dispersed into other parts. They were introduced to an audience by M. Dankleman, and M. Besser, Master of the ceremonies to his Electoral Highness. *Splendidly received at Koningsberg.*

While the embassy staid at Koningsberg, the Elector did all in his power, as well to shew his own magnificence, as to honour the ministers of so great a monarch, which was indeed doing honour to the sovereign himself in person. His Czarish Majesty had several occasions to converse freely with his Highness, in which he communicated to him the reasons of his thus leaving his dominions. The Elector, a wise and polite Prince, exceedingly applauded his intentions, and willingly entered into a defensive treaty with the ambassadors. He likewise defray'd their expences at his own charge, not only at Koningsberg, but all the way thro' his dominions. The Czar was little attentive to the pleasure and splendor of a Court, tho' he could not but be pleased with receiving so many marks of his Highness's affection. Instead of wast-

ing his time in the ceremonial of greatness, he employed it among common artificers, who were masters of such arts as he wanted to establish in Russia; especially those that respected the improvement of shipping and trade, and the arts and discipline of war. Frequently he travelled in the same cloaths with his attendants, and sometimes in the habit of a gentleman: but usually, when he came to a seaport, he went about in the dress of a Dutch skipper, that he might go into the yards with more freedom.

*Goes to
Dantzick;*

His Majesty went from Koningsberg, thro' the Pillau or Friesch Haft, (an inland water, separated from the sea by a tract of land not above 3 leagues over) to Dantzick. He took great delight in sailing upon this lake, and observing the dexterity of the mariners: but did not make any public entry at Dantzick, nor stay longer than just to view the forts, lines, magazines, and haven, which far exceeded those of Riga. In this short time he gave several testimonies of favour to the citizens, and assured them of his protection on all occasions: and, as his ambassadors had received from them considerable presents of wines and other provisions, he ordered them in return a present of fables, and other rich goods to a pretty large amount.

*And to
Berlin.*

From Dantzick the embassy went thro' the Ducal Pomerania to Berlin, the Court of the Elector of Brandenburg, and one of the politest in all Europe. Here, as they were to wait upon the same Prince who had received them with such splendor at Koningsberg, they made no public entry: they were however nobly entertained; and his Majesty was so charmed with the gallantry of what he saw, that he resolved to send the Prince royal to reside here for some time, in order to polish his manners. Why he took other measures, with regard to that Prince, will appear in due place.

As

As the chief business of the embassy was in the *Hastens* Low countries, his Majesty staid but little time in *for Hol-* his way from Berlin thither; not even at Ham- *land:* burgh, tho' that city is as beautiful and agreeable as most in Europe; and tho' the inhabitants, who had a considerable trade to Archangel, did their utmost to detain him by their good offices. The Dutch merchants at Moscow, before his Majesty's departure from thence, had by the means of M. Le Fort, given him such an inviting idea of their own maritime skill, that he hardly thought his time frugally bestowed among any other people: and the states, jealous of any impression he might receive from their rivals in trade, did all in their power to hasten his passage, by making preparations for his reception in some measure equal to the dignity of his character.

It was not till the month of August that the am- *Where he* bassadors arrived in the territories of the repub- *arrives.* lick. A solemn deputation immediately met them at Nimeguen, from the whole body of the States, to bid them welcome into their country, and defray the whole charges of their entertainment. They were conducted thro' all their towns with the noise of cannon and small arms on the one hand, and with the shouts and acclamations of the people on the other. But the Czar himself, after he had travelled some leagues in the United Provinces, left the embassy, that he might be less incommoded with this formality, and reach Amsterdam as soon as possible, in order to begin those observations which were the only motive of his journey. He was met on the way by some considerable merchants, who having resided at Moscow, received private intimation of his coming. They attended him in disguise into the city, with only two or three of his own people. The magistrates, who had notice also of his arrival, prepared a magnificent house for his reception, and

deputed some of their chief members to offer him all necessary accommodations.

The Ambassadors enter Amsterdam.

The embassy was received with much more splendor, and indeed with the utmost the city could possibly exhibit. All the young gentlemen mounted on horseback, with equipages, and the chief persons in the republick, rode out to meet them. The ladies, with whom the windows and balconies were crowded, added not a little to the show: and the night concluded with a grand fire-work upon the water, before the house that was prepared for the ambassadors. But an unlucky accident, that happened during the procession, took off some of the face of pleasure. The rails of the bridge giving way, above 100 people fell into the river, thirteen or fourteen of whom were drowned.

Admitted to an audience at the Hague.

All things were got ready at the Hague, with great expedition, for admitting the ambassadors to a public audience. His Majesty attended them thither, and had the satisfaction to see their high Mightinesses do him the utmost honour, in the persons of his ministers, the manner of whose reception exceeded all that had ever been known in that country. It would take up too much of our room, to describe fully matters of this nature: but I must observe that the Czar, informed of the preparations that were making, resolved on his part to have every thing suitable thereto. He caused his ambassadors to procure three magnificent coaches, a great number of jewels, and the richest clothes that could be had; to encrease their retinue with about 40 more servants, and give new liveries, unlike what they before had, to their whole train. In a word, every thing was made so very splendid, that the extraordinary expence of this audience cost above 200,000 dollars. The entry itself far surpassed that of Amsterdam, which was only a reception of them by the citizens

zens and magistrates; whereas this was by the appointment, and at the expence of the States-General.

M. Le Fort, the first ambassador, had a dress the finest that could be conceived. He was clad after the Muscovite fashion, in a long robe of cloth of gold, lined with the most precious fables. This robe, as well as the vest under it, was covered before with diamonds in shape of a heron's feather. He harangued their High Mightinesses in the Russian tongue, with an air altogether majestic, suitable to the character he bore on this solemn occasion. The two other ambassadors, who appeared likewise in very rich apparel, made also their compliments to the States with a becoming gravity. But, what added the greatest lustre to the audience, was, that all the ambassadors of most of the powers in Europe honoured it with their presence. His Czarish Majesty rode disguised in the train, wearing a plain blue coat, a large white perriwig, and a white feather. He had the satisfaction not to be discovered, and afterwards to hear all that passed in the audience-room from a closet window. The next day he rode privately back to Amsterdam, exceedingly pleased with what he had seen; and the ambassadors returned thither soon after.

His Majesty now applied closely to the work he came about. He entered himself, at the admiralty of the Indies, as a common ship carpenter, under the name of Peter Michaeloff. The termination *off* in the Russian language, added to the father's name, signifies a person of mean extraction; whereas that of *witz* implies the direct contrary. The Czar would not be called Peter Michaelowitz, because he chose to preserve no trace of his supreme dignity*. He had now entirely forgot he was a sovereign, or rather remembered it better than ever, if, as it certainly does, true
fove-

*The Czar
applies
himself to
ship build-
ing.*

* M. de Fontenelle, *Eloge*. P. 12.

sovereignty consists more in doing offices for the good of a people, than in the pomp and splendor that attend it. He worked in the dock-yard with greater assiduity, and more ardour than any of his comrades, who had no motives comparable to his. Every body knew the Czar, and the people shewed him to one another with a sort of veneration, that arose less from what he was, than from the business he came about. King William III. a competent judge of personal merit, who was then in Holland, had all that real respect for him which his character deserved. What the *Incognito* deprived him of, was only the shadow and outside of grandeur.

The Czar lived now in a little house, upon the India Wharf, and no importunities could prevail on him to accept of a better lodging. People were strictly prohibited from coming about him, or standing to gaze at him; things which gave him the greatest uneasiness. Two or three of his favourites, whom he called his partners in the art of ship-building, both lived and worked with him. When he had not the ax in his hand, he was usually diverting himself on the water, or rather making new improvements in his knowledge of navigation. He admitted of some private visits, from persons considerable either for rank or ingenuity, and received from them various curiosities both of art and nature. - The person he chiefly frequented, was burgo-master Whitsen, a gentleman of great merit; with whom, and some few others, he would be very free and merry at private entertainments.

*Is invited
to England
by K. Wil-
liam.*

The King of England had just now put an end, by the treaty of Ryswick, to a long and bloody war. This made him at leisure to observe more closely the actions and views of this wonderful Prince. He invited him to an interview at Utrecht, at which were present, besides their Majesties, only General Le Fort, who served for inter-
preter,

preter, and Prince Menzikoff. The satisfaction on both sides was mutual, as the two monarchs afterwards testified: and it was at this meeting that the King gave the Czar an invitation over to London, which his Russian Majesty accepted. The truth was indeed, that the Czar discovered, notwithstanding what he had been told, that the Dutch were not near such artists in ship-building as the English: for whereas the latter worked upon a regular plan, in which all the proportions were exactly observed, the other followed only experience, and the traditions of elder workmen; and so good a judge as the Czar could not be at a loss which of these to prefer. This invitation of the King's therefore happily fell in with his wishes, and perhaps he had hinted as much to his Majesty.

Most of the persons of distinction, who came over with the Czar, had been sent away by him into different parts, as soon as the ceremony of public audience was over. They had their particular routs prescribed them, and the arts they were to apply to, like those who were sent over from Moscow a year or two before. But his Majesty would not wait till his own people were able to plant the sciences in their country. He took all opportunities to hire artists in Holland, upon very good conditions, and sent them away by land for Moscow. Others he employed at Amsterdam, and elsewhere, in making draughts and models, till the season of the year would permit them to go round by Archangel. The very attendants and servants who staid with him were not suffered to be idle; some were put to school, to learn navigation and Euclid's elements; others were bound to artificers, for certain terms of years: and indeed it required that the fund of knowledge should be great and extensive, which was to instruct a whole nation.

Employs his attendants in various arts, and sends over workmen to Moscow.

While

Hears of a While his Majesty was at Amsterdam, after he
victory ob- had been at the Hague, he received three exprefles
tained over from the lords regents at Moscow, bringing him
the Turks the welcome news of a great victory obtained by
and Tar- his army, under the command of General Schein,
tars. over the Turks and Tartars: the particulars of
 which were as follow:

The Cham of the Crim Tartars, at the beginning of the Spring, had caused numbers of his troops, in small bodies, and at different times, to pass thro' Caffa, in order to join the Tartars of Circassia. The Muscovite army, he knew, was divided into several parties, in order to cover the workmen employed in the fortifications. This, he imagined, would give him a favourable opportunity to attack them at unawares; and with that view he ordered the Sultan Galga, or Prince royal, to advance with his army towards their camp. But General Schein, having intelligence of their approach, had just time to draw together his troops in an advantageous place, where he resolved to engage the enemy. The Tartars, seeing themselves superior in number to the Muscovites, and thinking these latter afraid to stir from their post, fell on them with great fury. The Muscovites received them very bravely, and keeping only on the defensive till the heat of the enemy's fire was over, then attacked them with all imaginable briskness, put them into confusion, and at last entirely to the rout. They pursued them, with great slaughter, to the river Hagalinc, where many of them were drowned.

The Muscovite ambassadors made public rejoicings on this occasion, and invited the magistrates of Amsterdam, and other persons of quality, to a magnificent entertainment; which the Czar was pleased to honour with his presence, and to heighten the good humour of it by his own pleasantries.

Towards the end of the Winter came the news of another victory, obtained near the river Boristhenes. The Grim Tartars, in conjunction with those of Budziack and Oczakow, had besieged Kasikermeen, carried on their trenches to the very counterfcarp, and at the same time made themselves masters of Toman, a small island adjacent: but a body of Muscovites, united with the Cossacks inhabiting those frontiers, came opportunely to the relief of the place, forcing the Tartars to abandon the siege, with considerable loss. The Czar, upon this intelligence, gave orders that the island should be regularly fortified.

*Another
victory.*

These advices were followed by others, relating the progress of his engineers, who had thoroughly secured Asoph, Tuba, and Kasikermeen. The first of these places, especially, was put in such a posture of defence, that it might well be esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in the world. This was the more agreeable to his Majesty, as Asoph was the center of all his great designs, which terminated in no less than the ruin of the Ottoman empire: and these successes in general, added the more to his glory, as they were a testimony that he had left the government in good and able hands.

Several yachts, with a man of war or two for their convoy, were sent from England to bring his Majesty thither, where he arrived in October, 1697. He was conducted to a house in York-Buildings, and spent some days in London; having several interviews with the King, the Princess of Denmark, and many of the nobility. The King of Great Britain offered him all the honours that were due to his character, and in particular Somerset-House for the place of his residence; a detachment of the household troops for his guard, and some of his own coaches to attend him: but the Czar, after returning a most obliging answer, declined all these favours, and let the King know he did

*The Czar
comes to
England.*

did not come abroad to spend his time in ceremony; desiring only leave to inspect the affairs of his navy, and be otherwise as much concealed as possible. The King was so pleased with this, that he gave immediate orders for all assistance to be given his Czarish Majesty, and that nothing should be denied him which he had a mind to see or know.

*His esteem
for the
Marquis
of Carmar-
then.*

Among all the celebrated places which the Czar went to see in England, as Oxford, Windsor, Hampton-Court, and others, he was particularly pleased with the Tower of London, the armoury there, and the manner of coining money: and among the English nobility, he took great delight to converse with the Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who complied with his humour, assisted him all he could in his pursuit of the knowledge of shipping (of which his Lordship was a great master) and would frequently row with him on the water. The Czar was so taken with this kindness of the Marquis, that he gave him a duty of 5 *s.* per hoghead upon tobacco, which he contracted to have sent over by the Eastland company of English merchants, (of which Mr. Heathcote, afterwards Sir Gilbert, was then master) and would frequently speak the most affectionate things of his Lordship, after his return into Russia.

*Resides at
Deptford.*

A house in London did not agree with his taste, nor answer the intention of his travels, and therefore, some days after his arrival, that of Mr. Evelyn at Deptford, an agreeable seat, was prepared for him. A back-door was opened from it into the King's yard, thro' which he could go among the ship-builders, who shew'd him their draughts, and the measure of laying down any vessel by the rules of proportion. This made him repent that he had spent so much time in Holland, where the method was much more inartificial: and from this time he resolved to have nothing but English-built ships in his country; for which purpose

pose he contracted with several artificers; the chief of whom was Mr. Dean, whose father, sir Anthony, was said to have first taught the French the art of ship-building.

His Majesty was shewn both houses of parliament, while sitting, and was once or twice carried to the play. He visited the archbishop of Canterbury, and was waited upon by bishop Burnet, (as that prelate tells us in his history) who was deputed by his brethren to converse with him about the doctrines of the church of England. He often took up the carpenters tools, and worked in the King's yard at Deptford. Sometimes he went to the smiths, sometimes to the gun-founders; and there was scarce any mechanic trade, from the watch-maker to the coffin-maker, which he did not more or less inspect. His dress was in the English fashion, sometimes as a gentleman, and sometimes as a sailor. He went abroad with very little attendance, and if at any time the mob began to gaze at him, he would immediately retire out of the way. Prince Menzikoff his favourite, Count Gollowin, and several other persons were with him here, and contracted for such things as his Majesty wanted: in particular, having seen the Printing-house at Oxford, he ordered them to purchase all materials for setting up one like it. His stay in England was about three months, all which time he was attended by the King's cooks, and servants, and had his expences defrayed, as also forwards and backwards.

Among other things that were here shewn the Czar, the King ordered admiral Mitchel to go down with him to Portsmouth, where a squadron of men of war then lay. His Majesty was delighted to see them go out to sea, form into two fleets, and engage with powder. He was told the reason of every thing he saw done, and express'd an infinite deal more satisfaction than at a

shew of the same kind in Holland, which did not give him half the instruction.

Takes several English over with him.

Before his departure, the King made him a present of the Royal Transport, the finest and best yacht then in England, built frigate fashion, and carrying twenty-four guns. It was contrived by the Marquis of Carmarthen, for the King's own use in his passage to and from Holland. He had also leave to hire such of his Majesty's subjects as he had occasion for, and who were willing to serve him; and his agents contracted with several mathematicians, officers, engineers, and others; among whom were Mr. Fergharson, two young men from Christ's Hospital, and the ingenious captain Perry, from whose State of Russia I have extracted some of the foregoing particulars. The captain was twelve years in his service, and had the direction of several great works; but met with discouragement from the Russian ministry, and at last was obliged to put himself under the protection of the English ambassador, Mr. Whitworth, in order to get back to his country.

Goes back to Holland:

From England the Czar went back to Holland, where two of his ambassadors had waited all the while, except that M. Le Fort had been once privately over. From Holland he set out for Vienna, carrying with him the whole science of ship-building, acquired in less than two years: but the reason was, that he had acquired it himself, by a sort of abdication of the Imperial dignity, a price that would have seemed exorbitant to any other sovereign.

And to Vienna.

I shall not detain the reader with an account of what passed in his way thro' Germany, nor the particulars of his reception at the Imperial court. Tho' every part of this latter was suitable to the dignity of the two monarchs, yet as it consisted only of magnificent ceremony, and what might be expected on such an occasion, it can add little to a history that regards only the real great man.

After

After his ambassadors had had their audience, and himself had conversed several times with the Emperor Leopold, and the chief persons of his court, his Majesty was just upon his departure to Venice, whither he had sent eight of his retinue before, when an express came from Moscow that called him suddenly thither, and put an end for the present to this unparallelled progress. A revolt of the whole body of the Strelitzes, to the number of 40,000, threatened entire ruin to his government. He arrived among them before they knew he was upon the road, put an end to their establishment and name, and exacted that respect to his personal courage, which they refused to shew to his orders. His infantry of the new discipline, which he had before the precaution to form, and immediately augmented to 30,000 men, were of the utmost service to him on this occasion. The rise and progress of this revolt, and the manner of its suppression, is in substance thus related by captain Perry *.

Whence he is suddenly called home by an insurrection.

While the Czar was making his observations in foreign parts, and collecting whatever he thought worthy of regard for his grand design, repeated advices came to Moscow that his Majesty was extremely pleased with what he had observed in his travels, and in particular had met with the greatest satisfaction in England: and that as a proof of this, he was sending great numbers of officers and mechanicks from that country, Holland, and other parts, into his service. Upon these advices, the malcontents, and adherents to the Princess Sophia, put the most malicious construction on all his Majesty's designs, and insinuated jealousies into the minds of the people, which were fomented by the priests, as if his Majesty's proceedings tended to the subversion of their holy religion, by bringing such a number of foreigners among them,

Rise of it.

who would certainly be his favourites and councilors. These strangers, it was added, would insult and domineer over the natives at pleasure, extirpate the antient establishment of the Strelitzes, and entirely subvert and alter their beloved customs and manners.

And design.

There needed nothing more to excite the jealousy of a people, superstitiously tenacious of all their old habits. Many of the heads of the clergy, several of the nobility and great men, who had been looked upon as in the Czar's interest, conspired together to cut the throats of the foreigners, and all who stood in their way; to declare the throne vacant by his Majesty's absence, and to place his sister upon it, who was always thought of on such occasions.

Begun by the Strelitzes.

About 10,000 Strelitzes were then in winter quarters, on the borders of Lithuania, 500 miles from Moscow. The General of these, and most of their officers, were made sure of by the conspirators. They were to begin the rebellion under some pretence concerning their pay; to break up their quarters, and march directly to Moscow, where other malcontents were to join them, in order to put the design in execution.

The regency, upon advice of this mutinous march, apprehended the wicked design of these men, who had more than once been in open rebellion before. They deputed several persons of distinction, with full power, and money to pay them not only the arrears demanded, but to give them six months advance, and to use all the soothing arguments to persuade them to retire, and join the other forces, who were just ready to open the campaign against the Turks. But all this would not do. They wanted, they said, to see their friends at Moscow, and to know whether the Czar was living or dead, and therefore were resolved to continue their march. The people were struck with consternation at hearing this, and
many

many of them left their habitations, dreading the insolencies of these mutineers, from whom they had lately suffered so much.

To prevent the rising of any others, and stop the mischief that threatened the city, the army commanded by General Gordon, consisting chiefly of old soldiers and foreign officers, was ordered to make head against the rebels. They came up with them about 40 miles from Moscow, near the Jerusalem Monastery, from whence the General sent to them several officers, and some considerable Lords who came out volunteers, to assure them of honourable satisfaction in whatever they desired, provided they would return to their duty. But they persisted in their resolution to see Moscow, and know what was become of the Czar; declaring that if their brothers, (meaning General Gordon's troops,) offered to oppose them, they would resist, tho' against double their own number.

Gordon, upon hearing this obstinate answer, ordered some cannon to be fired over their heads, in order to terrify them: but this had just the contrary effect; for the priests, always at hand in cases of public mischief, immediately cried out, *A miracle! the shot have no power to hurt you, who are asserting your antient rights.* The rebels gave a shout, and fell upon the General's army; whereupon a sharp engagement begun, which lasted near two hours; till at last the Strelitzes, finding the battle was in earnest, and that they had between 2 and 3000 men dead on the spot, surrendered themselves prisoners, very few escaping. The General, after the Roman manner of decimation, hung up every tenth man, and carried the rest to Moscow, where several of the ring-leaders being examined on the pine, they confessed their crimes, named the chief persons concerned with them, and all the particulars of the plot.

*Defeats
and pun-
ishes
them.*

It was this insurrection that the Czar was informed of at Vienna, and which brought him home with such expedition and secrecy. His arrival gave no small joy to his loyal subjects and friends, nor less confusion to his enemies. The first thing he did, the very day he came to Moscow, was to reward those soldiers who fought faithfully for him. The next day he had all the conspirators brought before him, and after having examined them himself, delivered them to the Lords, who condemned them in a full hearing. Prince Colerin, General Romanodskowski, several friars and priests of the first rank, and some ladies of quality, were involved in this sentence. Some of them were beheaded, others broke on the wheel, and others buried alive.

Conspirators punished.

The Strelitzes extirpated.

The Strelitzes, who had actually fought against their sovereign, and ever since his accession been in all the intrigues of his enemies, were most severely punished. Upwards of 2000 of them were executed, some on blocks, others on gallows erected for that purpose at all the gates of the three walls of the city, with their crimes writ over their heads. As this execution was in the depth of winter, the bodies were immediately frozen, and ordered to remain in the same posture they had suffered, till the warm weather rendered them obnoxious. There were also gallows placed on all the public ways leading to Moscow, at about two miles distance, upon which numbers of them were hanged, and monuments of stone erected by them, with a declaration of their crimes deeply engraven, and ordered to be kept for ever in repair. The very houses of these criminals were razed to the ground, and the name of Strelitzes utterly abolished; that of Soldatee, or soldiers, being substituted in its room. Such of them as were judged the most innocent, having their lives spared, were banished to Siberia, Astracan, Asoph, and other

other frontier places, with their wives, children, and near relations.

* The vast project, which his Majesty had long conceived, began now to appear in its full extent. *The Czar begins his reformati-* There was nothing in Muscovy that wanted perfecting only, for every thing was to be entirely done. *on. Re-* A new nation was to be created, and *flections* that by the sovereign alone, without help, without instruments; which made it a faint shadow of the original creation. The blind policy of his predecessors had disunited their country from the rest of the world, and quite neglected commerce, the source of genius as well as riches. The Czar laid open his vast estates, hitherto shut from mankind; sent his principal subjects among strangers, in quest of knowledge; drew to himself all the foreigners he could, who brought that knowledge with them: in a word, officers for land or sea service, mariners, engineers, mathematicians, architects, miners, workmen in metals, physicians, surgeons, artificers of every kind, all were welcome, all were caressed in Moscow.

But the very name of Novelties, artfully made use of, was sufficient to debase the merit of all these performances. We shall often see it make such obstinate malcontents, that the despotic authority of the Czar, great as it was, had hardly weight enough to suppress them. His Majesty had to do with a stubborn, indocile people, grown indolent from the little advantage they could hope to reap from their labours, accustomed to the most rigorous and frequently unjust punishments, inured by misery to a contempt of life, persuaded by long experience that felicity was out of their reach, insensible of that happiness they knew nothing of. The most indifferent and trivial alterations, such as retrenching their antient habits, or shaving their long beards, met with the strongest opposition, and

and was sometimes sufficient to cause an insurrection. To reconcile this people to the most useful innovations, a rigour that elsewhere would have been unjustifiable was found absolutely necessary: and the Czar was by so much the more obliged to use it, as the Muscovites had no idea of greatness or superiority, but from the power of doing hurt. A kind master with them was no master at all, nor could an indulgent Prince ever pass for a great one. We must not wonder then at the severities of the Czar, who knew the necessity of them, but grieved that such a necessity should exist.

War concerted against Sweden.

His Czarish Majesty, in his return to Moscow, at the end of the year 1699, had a short interview with Augustus King of Poland, in which that terrible war against Sweden is thought to have been concerted, which broke out the next year, and for twenty years after kept all the North in a flame. But the Czar did not appear in it at the beginning, having first the temper of his subjects to reform, which took up some months after his arrival. The principal reformatations he made, or begun to make this winter, were, 1. In his revenue; 2. In the habits and beards of his subjects; 3. In ecclesiastical affairs; and 4. in several customs regarding civil society.

Account of the Russian governors.

* The assessment of all duties laid upon the people, the collecting the Czar's revenues, and the sole decision of civil causes, had hitherto been committed to some favourite Lords, who acted as sovereigns under the Czar in their several provinces, and made use of his name in issuing their orders. Each of them had an office or court of justice at Moscow, where they usually resided, to which there was an appeal from the lesser districts. In each of these offices was a bench of Diacks, who determined causes, (as well relating to

to the treasury and the militia, as to civil affairs) and reported them to their respective lords, who seldom sat themselves in person; and there was no higher court of appeal. Each of these Lords appointed governors of the several cities and towns in his province, and every governor had a Diack and court of justice, which determined matters absolutely; only in matters of life and death, they were obliged to send the Lord a representation of the case, before any man was executed; which they always did according to their own inclination.

These governors held their places but for three years at most, and, instead of having salaries appointed them, usually gave the Lord 3 or 4000 roubles for the purchase of their commission, besides a great deal more to the Diacks of the head office in Moscow: yet these Vainodes, or governors, seldom failed of making their fortune in the three years; by which their equity may be conjectured, both to Prince and people. In all disputes between man and man, the first thing done was bribing the judge, and he who gave most carried the cause. Thro' the hands of these governors passed all the taxes in their respective districts, and they gave such account of them as they thought proper to the grand Precause at Moscow.

The Czar, believing a more faithful return might be made of his revenue, and with less oppression on his subjects, proposed in a council of his Lords, that there should be one general office erected at Moscow, and called the Rate-house, for the better collection and improvement of the public income: that a number of reputable men should be chosen out of the merchants, and entitled Burgo-Masters, to sit daily five or more of them, to appoint clerks and officers for their own district of Moscow, and Burgo-Masters for all the other divisions, to collect and receive the customs and tolls, and the excise on beer, brandy, and mead, which

The Czar purposes to take from them the collection of his revenue:

which are not to be made without license, nor sold but for the particular profit of the Czar. The common people durst not brew or distil, for their own use, but only a certain quantity against some holiday, and that too by permission: the rest they must buy at the Cobacks, or places of sale: and this restraint hath since been carried yet farther. Now the Czar would have all the money thus collected returned to the general rate-house, where the accompts were to be adjusted, and from thence transmitted to the treasury, or whither the emergency of the state should require: and only the land-tax and poll-tax to be levied by the governors, as before.

*Which the
Lords op-
pose.*

But this useful proposition, as it lopped off a considerable branch of the power of the Lords, was far from meeting with their approbation. They remonstrated, that the office of collecting the revenue had always been vested in the nobility, who they hoped had discharged it faithfully; and therefore implored that his Majesty would not so far disgrace them as to take away this public trust, and lodge it in the hands of boors and slaves. Finding this ineffectual, they proposed several schemes for the Czar's satisfaction, whereby some part of this trust might still be preserved to themselves. But the Czar was inflexible, and began to grow warm: upon which, fearing that some of their heads might pay for their obstinacy, they acquiesced; his Majesty's proposals were put in execution, and continued some years to very great advantage. The Czar also laid a tax upon all the monasteries, and ordered that no person who was not turned of 50 should be admitted a monk. This he did to prevent such multitudes of his subjects from being rendered useless, and by lessening the number of religious pensioners, he could the more easily take a part of their pension.

*But in
vain.*

The general habit of the Russians was a long *He re-*vestment, hanging down almost to their ankles, *forms the* and gathered up in plaits at the hips, like a wo- *habits of* man's petticoat. The Czar resolved to have *the Rus-* this changed, and gave orders first to his boyars, *sians;* and all who came to court, that they should furnish themselves, according to their several abilities, with handsome clothes, after the English mode, the wealthiest of them with gold or silver trimming. He also commanded that futes of clothes in the English fashion should be hung up at all the gates of the city of Moscow, and that all persons, except the peasants who brought in provisions, should dress themselves after those patterns. Whoever disobeyed this order, was obliged to pay 2 grevens, (about twenty pence of our money) at passing the gates, or submit to kneel down and have their skirts cropt, so as just to touch the ground in that posture. Many hundreds of garments were to be seen thus curtailed; and as the whole was done in good humour, it soon reconciled people to the new fashion, which was found the most commodious.

The women too, especially the ladies about the court, were ordered to reform their dress according to the English manner, and instead of their long shift-sleeves, which they twirled out across a room when any one came to visit them, to have such as were short and decent. To make this go down the better with the fair, he abrogated the custom of keeping them in apartments by themselves, and admitting them only once to come into any company, present a dram of brandy round, and retire; ordering that for the future they should be present at all public entertainments, and converse freely with the men, especially at weddings. The Czar himself would frequently honour these with his presence, and give something to the bride equivalent to the extraordinary expence. This indulgence

gence in the ladies favour, soon reconciled them to the drefs.

*And re-
trenches
their
beards.*

I before took notice of the retrenchment of beards, as well as of habits. The Russians wore long ones, hanging down on their bosoms, and nicely comb'd out. Even the hair on the upper lip was so long, that they were obliged to wipe it after drinking; at the same time that That on the head was worn quite short, except only by the priests. To reform this foolish custom, the Czar laid a heavy tax on all his subjects, exclusive of the priests and peasants, for the wearing of beards. The very common people were obliged to pay a copeck, for entering any city or town with a beard, and an officer waited at the gate to receive it. But such was their veneration for this piece of natural ornament, as they esteemed it, that they looked upon the Czar as guilty of a grievous sin, and this injunction passed for a terrible persecution. Indeed it was rigorously put in force on some of the most obstinate, who had their beards plucked up by the roots for non-compliance. Some were so superstitious as to save the hair when taken off, in order to have it put in their coffin, that they might give an account of it to St. Nicolas. Libels were writ on this occasion, and dropp'd about the streets, charging his Majesty with heathenism and tyranny. But the women liking their husbands and sweethearts the better, most of the men by degrees were reconciled to this depilation of their chins.

*Restrains
the Pa-
triarch.*

In the first book of this history I mentioned the Muscovite Religion, and in particular the grandeur and authority of the patriarch. The Czar had been in England, and seen what advantage accrued to the sovereign from being the chief in ecclesiastical affairs. He resolved to be so himself in Moscow, but would not attempt to depose the prelate in possession, tho' he sometimes took the liberty to curb the excess of his priestly power. * One day the

* Crull's State of Muscovy, Vol. II. p. 206.

the reverend sire took upon him to expostulate with his Majesty, (who was come to visit his mother, then on her death-bed) concerning his altering the antient customs, and in particular the dress of his subjects, against their consent. *Father, said the Czar, are not you the head of the Russian church?* the Prelate answered, *Yes Sir, by your favour.* To which his Majesty replied, *And why do you turn the head and advocate of the Taylors? I intend to give my subjects more substantial proofs of the care I take for their welfare, than what depends on the imaginary differences of dress.*

This Prelate, who was a very old man, dying about the time we are upon, the Czar refused to have any other elected, and took upon himself to be head of the church: only he appointed the metropolitan of Resan, a native of Poland, and the most learned of all his clergy, to take upon him the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; but with this restriction, that he should represent all matters of moment to his Majesty, and receive his directions thereupon. This surprising turn caused a great uneasiness among the chief of the clergy, and one of them spoke a little too freely of the matter: which coming to his Majesty's ear, he ordered him to be degraded; and when the other bishops excused themselves from doing it, alledging, that as they had no patriarch, and were themselves all of equal authority, they could not proceed thus against a brother, the Czar created a new bishop on purpose, who deprived the other of his mitre. Upon this bold proceeding, several virulent writings were dropped about the streets of Moscow, reflecting on the Czar: but no bad consequence followed, nor were the authors of the libels ever detected, tho' great rewards were offered for that purpose.

And abolishes his authority.

The other *reforms* he made were of different kinds, but none of them more remarkable than those which related to matrimony. Matches, till now, were always made up by the parents, without

Regulates matrimonial contracts.

any previous meeting of the young couple, who frequently were not above 13 or 14 years old. The bridegroom never spoke to his bride till the day before the nuptials, and then the visit was very short, and in presence of all the friends on both sides. But the Czar, observing that marriages in Russia were often remarkably unhappy, very justly attributed it to this cause. He therefore ordered, that no young couple should be married without their own free consent, nor till after a correspondence of at least six weeks. This new regulation had a very good effect. Husbands before would beat their wives so inhumanly, that they often died of the blows, and the man never suffered for the murder, which was interpreted as done by way of correction. But these barbarities, in a great measure, were now prevented, and fewer women suffered for the murder of their husbands than before.

Lessens the retinues of the boyars. It had been a pompous custom among the great boyars, as a piece of state and grandeur, to retain a great number of uselefs servants, who attended them bare-headed, some before, and some behind, along the streets of Moscow: and in the coldest weather, these lords, and even the ladies would almost freeze with riding slow, that the servants might keep pace with them on foot. But the Czar, who always rode swift, and with a very few servants uniformly clothed, commanded the boyars, and persons of distinction, to follow his example: and that his order might be the more effectual, he had lists taken of all the superfluous attendants in every family, whom he sent away into the army. Great intercessions were made for many, especially such of these hangers-on as were gentlemen born, and only waited for preferment: but his Majesty's commands were punctual, and allowed of no respect of persons.

There had been a printing-house erected in Moscow, by the approbation of one of the former

Czars:

Czars: but not long after it was set on fire in the night, and the press and letters burnt, as was thought by the procurement of the priests, who looked upon all books, but the legends of their saints, the history of their own country, and the exploits of their Czars, to be as bad as witchcraft.

As they had no university, nor any school worthy *Remark-* of notice, it was unlikely they should have any *able in-* taste for literature. No longer ago than the *stances of* beginning of the last century, the secretary of a Per- *Russian* sian ambassador coming thro' Russia with his mas- *stupidity.* ter, in the way to Denmark, calculated the hour and duration of an eclipse that was just ready to happen. It was hardly believed at first that any man could know so much; but when the proof of it came, and the sun appeared actually dark, the people thronged about the ambassador's house, and demanded his secretary, that they might burn him as a forcerer; and it was with some difficulty that he was rescued by the guards. But things began now to put on a new face in Russia; books were printed, schools were erected, the mathematicks were studied, even astronomy itself.

Captain Perry relates another story of a surgeon, who was condemned to death as a forcerer, and had certainly been executed, but for the intercession of the boyar who was his patron, because a skeleton that hung up in his room, near the window, was seen to move, by the wind, while the master played on a lute. Some Strelitzes, who came by, and observed the motion, went and gave evidence that they had seen the dead bones dance to the surgeon's musick; which was confirmed by others, who were sent on purpose to examine into the truth of the matter. It was with some difficulty that the lord made the use of the skeleton understood, and the poor surgeon was glad to save his life at the expence of his flying the country. The passive skeleton, which had thus been wrought on by the power of magick, could not however escape

the resentment of the populace, but was dragged about the streets and burnt.

The Czar reforms the Russians year; I before mentioned that the Russians began their year upon the first of September, because the world, they imagined, was created in Autumn, when the fruits of the earth were in perfection; and very fond they were of an argument, which they thought unanswerable. But the Czar Peter had often shewn his boyars a map of the globe, and merrily gave them to understand that Russia was not all the world, for that it was Summer in the Southern hemisphere at the same time it was Winter with them; and moreover, that in all appearance the seasons had been considerably changed since the creation, for want of exactness in computing the length of a true solar year. He had so far inculcated these remonstrances, that at the beginning of the present century, a period the most happy for beginning a new succession of time, he resolved to make his subjects conform to what the wisest of them could not but be convinced was very rational. With this view he proclaimed a jubilee on the first of January 1700, and commanded it to be solemnized a whole week together, with firing of guns, ringing of bells, illuminations, and other acts of publick festivity; and then ordered that no person, from that time forwards, should make use of any other date, under a severe penalty, than what was followed by the other nations of Europe. Many looked upon this as striking at the very ground of religion, and though every body conformed to it through fear, yet some of the old Russians would afterwards get together on the first of September, and privately solemnize that day with great zeal and superstition, as the first of the new year; asserting that the world was just as old as they reckoned it, that is, about 500 years older than in any other modern computation. *

His

* Perry's state of Russia.

His Majesty also abolished the old custom of writing themselves *slaves*, and reciting all his titles at large, in any address from the Russians to their sovereign; ordering that the word *raab* or *subject*, should be substituted instead of *golup* or *slave*, and that *To his most highly gracious Majesty* should be the superscription of every thing directed to the throne.

While these civil regulations were on foot, the army and navy had not been neglected. All the troops were new disciplined, and regularly clothed, according to what was practised in other nations: for till now every soldier, except those on Le Fort's establishment, was dressed according to his own fancy. And that no man in his dominions might want employment, the Czar ordered lists to be taken of such gentlemen as had none, and commanded some of them to enter as volunteers, giving the rest appointments in different stations, either about the navy or in the frontier garisons.

His Majesty then went to Veronitz, in order to view those ships and gallies that were built there by the Dutch in his absence. But as the English-built ships had so highly pleased him in his travels, he now ordered that none should be laid down in any other fashion, and made the English he brought over with him his chief master-builders. One man of war, of 50 guns, he had put immediately upon the stocks, according to a draught of his own making, in which he had so contrived it, that the vessel should remain tight tho' her keel were knocked off. When the work was a little advanced, he left it to be carried on by two young Russian gentlemen, who had attended him in his travels; but they were to advise upon occasion with the English builders: and then ordering Vice-Admiral Cruss, and Rear-Admiral Raes, to fit out all the vessels that were ready for that purpose,

And the manner of writing to himself.

Regulates the army:

And the navy.

which were to be convey'd down to Asoph the next year, he returned back to Moscow.

*Veronitz
described.*

This city of Veronitz, the naval magazine for Russia at the time we are speaking of, stands on the top of a hill, the West of the river Veronitz, and is surrounded with a wooden wall. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants. On the descent of the hill, near the river, are several handsome buildings, and the docks, yards, and store-houses, make a good figure. Captain Perry was employed here, by the Czar's command, to dam out the water which incommoded the workmen at the annual inundations, and did it in such a manner, that, as he expresses it himself, "his works are in no danger of giving way so long as the world endures." But neither for this, nor any thing else he undertook, could the Captain get paid according to contract; of which he complains severely in his State of Russia; tho' without charging his ill usage on the Czar, but only on Admiral Apraxin. It seems indeed to have been a maxim at that time in Russia, either of his Majesty or his ministers, (how justifiable I will not take upon me to say) to withhold the wages of those ingenious men whom they had invited over, in order to prevent their ever returning to their native countries.

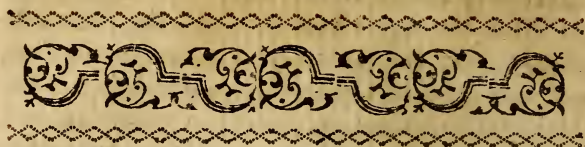
*The death
and fune-
ral of M.
Le Fort.*

But to return: in the midst of these labours for the good of his people, the Czar was sensibly touched with the loss of that wise and good man, who had first guided him into the paths of true greatness. The reader will know, from what has already been said, that this can mean only M. Le Fort, who from the time of his advancement had deservedly lived in the highest honour and reputation, and was now, at his death, chief general of his Majesty's armies, admiral of all his fleets, and prime minister. The Czar, willing to testify his regard for such extraordinary merit, buried him with such funeral pomp as had never

never been seen in Russia before, nor scarcely surpassed in any other country. All the great officers of State and the army, the foreign ministers, and the chief of the nobility, attended it. His Majesty himself led the guards in mourning, and assisted at the funeral sermon, which was preached by a divine of the reformed religion.

The Czar's ministers, some time before this, *The order* had made a truce with the Turks for two years, *of St. An-* at the congress of Carlowitz: but as the Germans, *drew in-* Poles, and Venetians, had entered into preliminaries for a general peace, his Majesty applied to the late King William, who was mediator in these negotiations, to get the truce prolonged into a lasting treaty. This being done, and M. Le Fort's obsequies over, the Czar, willing to honour those who had served him faithfully during the wars, instituted a new order of knighthood, the first that ever was known in Russia, under the patronage of St. Andrew, for whom the Muscovites have a great veneration. The collar of the order is a blue ribbon, to which hangs a cross with St. Andrew's image, the two letters S. A. surmounted by an eagle, and the words, *Peter the first, Emperor of Russia, preserver of the country.* Prince Menzikoff was the first on whom his Majesty conferred this mark of distinction.

And now began that tedious and bloody war, which was first concerted at the Czar's return from Vienna, and continued for twenty years, with various fortune to the contending parties. But Peter the Great, who for some years of it was rather unsuccessful than prosperous, had the glory at last to triumph over an obstinate enemy, and to secure to himself by treaty a large addition of territory. Peace with the Turks, and war with Sweden, were proclaimed at Moscow the same day.



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK IV.

*From the beginning of the war with Sweden, till
the reduction of Ingria and Livonia, and the
building of Petersburg and Cronstot.*

*Character
of Charles
XII K. of
Sweden.*

IT was in the year 1700 that his Czarish Majesty, supported by the alliance of Augustus King of Poland, and Frederick King of Denmark, engaged in a war with Charles XII. King of Sweden, the most formidable rival he could possibly have in the pursuit of glory. Tho' but 18 years of age, this Prince was not only an enemy to all softness and effeminacy, but even fond of
the

the most violent fatigues, and all the severities of a military life. Invincibly obstinate in those excesses to which his courage transported him, he run into dangers with the highest relish and delight, and wanted nothing of being a very Alexander, but the addition of a few vices *. Both he and the Czar, it is pretended, believed in absolute predestination, and owed much of their intrepidity to this speculative notion.

But tho' there might seem to be some equality between the two Sovereigns at war, it was far otherwise with respect to the nations they commanded. Muscovites, who in general had not yet the slightest tincture of discipline, were never injured to the practice of valour, nor possessed of a reputation they could either fear to lose, or make use of to inspire them with new courage; these Muscovites marched against veteran Swedes, used to a discipline the most exact, accustomed to the field under a long succession of warlike Kings, animated to brave actions by the very remembrance of their own history. The Czar was so sensible of this, that he frankly said at the beginning of the war, when news were brought him of the defeat before Narva: *I know very well that my troops will be beat for some time; but this will teach them to conquer at last.* He armed himself with a patience more heroic than even valour itself, and sacrificed the interest of his own glory to that of making his people brave and warlike.

It were to be wished that the Czar's motives for entering into this war, had been as justifiable in themselves, as they were well concerted for carrying on his grand project. Livonia, tho' formerly disputed with Sweden, by both the Muscovites and Poles, had been in quiet possession of the former near an hundred years. Carelia and Ingria had indeed belonged to Russia, but were ceded to Sweden.

Inequality of the Muscovites and Swedes.

The Czar's motives to the war with Sweden. Provinces dismembered.

* Eloge par Fontenelle, P. 16.

Sweden by Michael Federowitz, the Czar's grandfather, and remained to that crown ever since. A long deduction of the Czar's pretensions to these several provinces was however published, by which it was easy to see that all the other causes alledged for this rupture were only subservient to these. His Majesty's project of becoming powerful by sea, excited him to revive those pretensions, which, pursued with success, would put him in possession of Narva, Revel, Riga, and other considerable ports on the Baltick, and the gulf of Finland. To give the better idea of these several particulars, it is proper here to insert an abstract of the geography and history of these provinces.

A description of Livonia.

The province of Livonia is bounded on the West by the gulf of that name; on the north by the gulf of Finland; on the east by Ingria and the Dutchy of Pleskow in Muscovy; and on the south by Lithuania and Samogitia. Its antient inhabitants were barbarians, who had no commerce with their neighbours. Certain German Pyrates, who cruised in the Baltick in the reign of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, landing there, found the country so fine and fertile, that they resolved to make it the place of their residence. Their first care was to settle a traffic with the natives, by which they proposed to themselves large profit, especially upon corn, honey, and wax. This view to interest changing afterwards into a zeal for religion, they formed a military society for establishing the Christian faith among these infidels; and after several battles, in which they murdered many thousands under this pretence, they became masters of the province. Their society being confirmed by the Pope, they took the name of Knights of Livonia, and chose William of Vienna for their Grand Master. The country was divided into several governments, and the archbishop of Riga had a part in the Sovereignty. This concession to the prelate, which they looked on as their greatest security,

was

was the cause of their ruin: for having some misunderstanding with him, the Grand Master Volquin implored the help of the Teutonic Knights, under the heavy condition of receiving them for masters. The Knights of Livonia got rid of this servitude, for a large sum of money, under Albert of Brandenburg, who some time after renounced his order, and turned Lutheran. The Livonians followed his example, embraced the doctrines of Luther, seized the estates of the order, and made them hereditary. Gottard de Ketler, their Grand Master, put himself under the protection of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, and preserved to himself Courland and Semigallia.

During these religious disorders the Muscovites got possession of the greatest part of Livonia. They were drove out of it by Stephen Bathori, who succeeded Henry of Valois King of Poland, and retook it again in the reign of Sigismund, with whom they were at war on account of the false Demetrius. Having broke with Gustavus I. King of Sweden, that Prince invaded and reduced Livonia: but his successor lost it again to the Muscovites in 1590, who were now no more able to retain it than they had been before. The constable de la Gardie not only took from them what they had recovered from Sweden, but obliged the Czar Michael entirely to renounce it by the treaty of Stockholm in 1618. The Poles opposed this cession, pretending that the Czar had no right to make it, in prejudice to their claim from the grand master of the order, and a prior cession from the Muscovites to them in 1582. They were answered by the Swedes, and the contention came to the point of a rupture, when Lewis XIII King of France, adjusted it by his mediation in 1629, leaving the Swedes in possession of all they had got, except Courland, which he obliged them to restore. The treaty of Oliva, in 1660, confirmed all that had been before done, and allowed the Kings both of

Origin of the Muscovites claim on this province.

Po-

Poland and Sweden to call themselves Dukes of Livonia, to the utter exclusion of the Muscovites. But the Czar Alexis Michaelowitz revived the claim which his father had renounced, and Peter was now resolved to make the most of it.

*Patkul's
Story.*

Livonia is a country of great importance, on account of its advantageous situation, and prodigious fertility in corn and pasturage. The Livonian nobility are very numerous, and were possessed of great power and many privileges, before the reign of Charles XI. King of Sweden, who oppressed them equally with the rest of his subjects.* Patkul, since unhappily famous for his tragical death, was deputed by the rest of the Livonian nobility, to bear their united complaints to his Majesty; whom he addressed in a manner very respectful, and with that manly eloquence, which calamity, joined with courage, inspires. Charles, who knew how to dissemble, when he did not give himself up to the transports of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder: "You have spoke for your country, says he, like a gallant man, and I esteem you for it: proceed." But a few days after he got him declared guilty of high treason, and condemned. Patkul, who had hid himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland, where we leave him for a moment.

*Division of
Livonia.*

The river Duna divides Livonia into two parts: south of the river lie Courland and Semigallia, both fiefs of the crown of Poland. The other Livonia, comprehends Estonia and Litland. In the former are contained Estonia Proper, Wikezland, Alentaken, Harenland, Jervenland, Oldenpo, and Wirland.

*Estonia
Proper.
Pernaw.*

Estonia Proper lies between Litland, Oldenpo, Jervenland, and Wikezland. The only remarkable city in it is Pernaw, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which falls into the gulf of Li-

* Voltaire. *Histoire de Charles XII.*

Livonia. It is a place of good trade, (tho' small) on account of the great quantity of corn there loaded for the Low Countries. It has a strong citadel, and was formerly the capital of a Polish Palatinate.

Wikezland extends along the Baltick Sea, between Estonia Proper and Harnland. Hapsel, formerly a bishoprick, on a small gulph of the same name, and Lehal, are its principal towns. *Wikezland*

Alentaken lies between the gulph of Finland and the lake Peybus or Czudzko. The city of Narva here, upon a river of the same name, which divides Livonia from the dutchy of Pleskow, and two miles lower falls into the gulph of Finland, is one of the strongest places in the whole province, defended by a large castle on the banks of the river. *Alentaken Narva.*

Revel, upon the gulph of Finland, is the capital of Harnland. It is one of the richest and most mercantile places in the North, a hans town, and possessed of several privileges, that were confirmed to it by divers treaties between the Kings of Sweden and the grand Dukes of Muscovy. Waldemar II. built it in 1228. The Muscovites besieged it in 1557, with a numerous army; but were obliged to retire without success. *Harnland Revel.*

Wittenstein, Lais, and Overpolen are towns of Jerven- Jervenland, which lies between Harnland, Estonia Proper, and Wirland. *land.*

Oldenpo, or Kikeland, is surrounded by Alen- Oldenpo. taken, Muscovy, Litland, and Estonia Proper. Dorpt. Dorpt, or Junigorod, upon the river Embeck, is the principal city of this district. It is very antient, but run much to decay. The Knights of the Teutonic order drove the Muscovites out of it in 1280, and were expelled again themselves in 1558, by the grand Duke Basil. The Poles took it in 1582. Charles Duke of Sudermania took it from the Poles, in his wars with King Sigismund. The Muscovites retook it, but lost it again to the constable

de la Gardie in 1625. Gustavus Adolphus erected an university there in 1632, and it remained to the Swedes till the end of that century. The other towns in this province are Vernebec, Helmede, and Ringen.

Wirland.

Wirland is contiguous to Estonia and Harnland. The most remarkable towns in it are Wefenberg, taken by John King of Sweden, and Tolsberg, upon the mouth of the river Serafschebuck.

Litland.

Litland lies between Estonia, Muscovy, the river Duna, and the gulph of Riga. It is divided into East and West, the latter of which is largest. In the former are Duneburg, a fortified city on the Duna; Rositen, Lutzen, and Marienhufen. The capital of West Litland is Riga, upon the borders of Courland, a large handsome place, well fortified, and considerable for trade. It was formerly (and may be still reckoned) the capital of all Livonia, the usual residence of the grand master of the Knights of that denomination, and the seat of an archbishop. Charles IX. King of Sweden besieged this town ineffectually; but his son, Gustavus Adolphus, became master of it in 1621. The Muscovites attempted to surprize it some years after, and were obliged to retire with very great loss. The other cities of this division are Teydar, Wolmar, Wenden, and Kokenhauß; the latter built upon an eminence, the bottom of which is watered by the river Duna; a place much stronger by nature than by art. The Muscovites took it in 1654, and restored it by the treaty which put an end to that war.

Riga.

There are some islands upon the coast of Livonia, which we may have occasion hereafter to mention.

Ingria.

Ingria is bounded on the North by the lake Ladoga, by Muscovy on the East, by Livonia on the South, and on the West by the gulph of Finland. It belonged formerly to the Muscovites; but
the

the Swedes having got possession, the Czar Michael Federowitz gave it up entirely to Gustavus Adolphus by the treaty of Stockholm, which was confirmed in 1661 between K. Charles XI. and the Czar Alexis Michaelowitz. Its situation between Finland and Livonia, made it always considerable. *Notteburg.* Notteburg, the capital, a strong place, lay at the head of the river Neva, where it rises out of the lake Ladoga. It was taken by the constable de la Gardie in 1614. The other cities of Ingria are Capôria, Imagorod, and Ivanagorod.

Carelia lies between the gulph of Finland, the *Carelia.* province of that name, and the lake Ladoga. Birger King of Sweden subdued it in 1293, and it remained in the hands of his successors till 1338, when they divided it with the Muscovites. The Czar Suiski promised to give up his part to Charles IX. upon condition of being assisted against the impostor Demetrius. Charles sent him troops under the command of Pont de la Gardie; but the Muscovites, after the war was over, not readily keeping to the proposal, the Swedes seized on Kexholm, and afterwards on all Carelia Proper, which from that time was entirely united to the crown of Sweden.

The capital of Carelia Proper is Wiburg, a *Wibourg.* strong place, with a good citadel, which the Muscovites had often attempted to surprize. The capital of Kexholm is of the same name, and stands *Kexholm.* upon the lake Ladoga, at the mouth of the river Voxen. It is defended by a strong castle, which was took by the constable de la Gardie. Some authors make Kexholm a province by itself; but we shall not dispute about names.

These were the provinces claimed by the Czar Peter, in his declaration against Charles XII. The reader will guess, from this short account, on what he founded his pretensions, and how justly. We shall only remark, that wars have often

been entered into on more slight foundations. And probably any other Prince, capable of the same great designs, would have thought these at least very sufficient. But the Czar added others to them, which he called *New motives for which the war was begun*. These new motives, some writers tell us, he had better have suppressed; and every one has a right to give his opinion of what even monarchs think fit to publish.

Other motives for entering into this war.

The first of these new motives, and what was chiefly enlarged on, was the affront given to his Czarish Majesty's ambassadors at Riga, of which we took notice in the third book. Another was, that his Majesty was warned by the English court, while he resided in London, not to go back thro' the Swedish territories, with intimation of some danger that might attend his person. The declaration also accused the Swedish court with having spirited up the Porte to a rupture with his Majesty, and affirmed that General Leczinski, father of the famous Stanislaus, and ambassador of Poland at the Ottoman court, was made use of for this purpose. These reasons, and an absolute refusal of the King of Sweden to give him satisfaction on the affair of Riga, added to the claims above-recited, inclined his Czarish Majesty to listen to the instances of the Kings of Poland and Denmark, who had both their several reasons for breaking with Sweden at this time. If any one should affirm, that the fair prospect they had of making acquisitions on their respective borders, during the minority of a young Prince whose character was yet unknown, was the secret motive that prevailed with all the three powers, I shall not take upon me to contradict it.

Cause of the Danish rupture with Sweden.

* The eldest sister of Charles XII. was married to the Duke of Holstein, a brave and good-natured young Prince, but unhappy in an odd partition of territory with the King of Denmark. The King,

as

as is usual in cases of sovereignty, made use of his superior strength to oppress the Duke, who fled to Stockholm with his Princess, to throw himself under his brother-in-law's protection.

Christiern III. King of Denmark, of the antient house of Holstein, had such an uncommon affection for his brother Adolphus, that he divided with him the dutchies of Holstein-Gottorp, and Sleswick. The descendants of Adolphus were to govern ever after, in conjunction with the Kings; so that the two dutchies would be in common between them both, and neither should do any thing without the other. This union, for near 80 years, was the cause of continual disputes between the two branches; the one aiming to engross all, the other to be independent. In these struggles the last Duke lost his liberty as well as his sovereignty, till he recovered both at the conferences of Altena, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who guaranteed the treaty. But as this treaty, on the part of Frederick IV. then King of Denmark, was no more than a submission to necessity, he began now to revive the dispute with more virulence than ever, committed some acts of hostility in the dutchies, and was ready to fall upon Sweden itself.

Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence of the Abbe de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the Prince of Conti, his competitor for the crown, could set aside from being elected King of Poland, was a Prince less famous for his incredible strength of body, than for the gallantry of his mind. Next to that of Lewis XIV. his court made the greatest figure of any in Europe. No Prince bestowed favours more liberally, nor with a better grace; and thus he had bought one half of the Polish nobility. The rest he awed into submission by the approach of a Saxon army, which he wanted some pretence to retain still in Poland. Patkul, willing to take

*And of the
Poles.*

vengeance on the Swedes, had represented to him how easy it would be to conquer Livonia; the people ready to shake off the Swedish yoke, and their king a child. The Saxon troops then were to march into Livonia; on the other side Poland from their own country, which would still keep them a check upon the Polish Lords, and might add to the kingdom a valuable acquisition.

*The Czar
invests
Narva.*

Among the pretensions of these Princes for falling on Sweden, those of Peter were at least as valid as either of the others. He invaded Ingria, at the latter end of autumn, with an hundred thousand men, and sat down before Narva, within 30 degrees of the Pole, on the first of October, when the cold is as severe in this climate, as with us in the depth of winter. The Czar, says M. de Voltaire, who in such weather would sometimes ride post 400 miles to see a mine or a canal, spared his troops no more than he spared himself. He knew that the Swedes, ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, had been used to make war in the depth of Winter; and he wanted to make his Muscovites at least equal to them, by losing all distinction of seasons. He marked out himself the lines of his camp, had it fortified on all sides, and with his own hands opened the trench. The Duke de Croy, a German general of great abilities, had the command of the army, while the Czar himself, to continue the example of military discipline, was only a Lieutenant in his own troops.

The Muscovite army, except about 30,000 men who had been disciplined on the new plan, and succeeded the Strelitzes, consisted of raw young fellows, just taken from the forests or fields, covered with the skins of beasts, and armed with arrows or clubs. Not one of these had ever seen a siege, and there was scarce a good cannoneer in the whole body. But the Duke of Croy brought with him about 50 German officers, who had all served in Hungary; and these, added to the foreign officers

officers already in the army, soon brought them into better order. Yet this mighty army of 100,000 men, with 150 pieces of cannon, lay ten whole weeks before the little town of Narva, defended by Count Hoorn with scarce 1000 regular troops, and were at last obliged to raise the siege with disgrace.

Charles XII. alarmed by these preparations *Charles re-*
 against him, renounced at once all the amusements *duces the*
 of youth, and, full of the idea of Alexander, set *Danes.*
 out from Stockholm at 18 years of age, at the head
 of an army, and never returned thither again, tho'
 he lived 18 years more. He began first with the
 Dane, to revenge his brother-in-law's quarrel;
 landed an army in Zealand, and invested Copen-
 hagen itself, while the King of Denmark was be-
 sieging Tonningen in Holstein. In less than six
 weeks, he brought the Dane to reason, and con-
 cluded a treaty to the Duke's advantage, who
 was indemnified from all the expences of the war.
 And the King of Poland having raised the siege
 of Riga, after two months lying before it, upon
 the representations of the Dutch, who had vast
 effects there (an occasion the King was very ready
 to embrace) Charles had now only the Czar,
 his rival in glory, to march against; "with whom
 he was the more enraged, says his Historian Vol-
 taire, as there were still three Muscovite Amba-
 sadors at Stockholm, who had lately sworn to re-
 new an inviolable peace." But however that was,
 it is certain the Czar's intentions were notified to
 the Swedish Court, before he actually committed
 any hostilities.

* The King of Sweden, with about 20,000 *Marches*
 men, crossed the sea from Carelsroon to Pernaw; *against the*
 and the Czar received advice of his being landed *Czar.*
 on the 15th of November. His Majesty foresaw
 that

* Histoire de Charles XII. and History of the Czar by
 a British officer.

*Repulses
the Muscovites at
three posts;*

that this King, young and enterprising as he was, would play the desperate game; and therefore, far from despising his inferiority of number, having disposed his army before Narva in the best manner (placing three advanced guards, the first of five, the second of twenty, the third of thirty thousand men, before the main body) he posted away to Pleskow, to hasten the march of 40,000 recruits who were by this time got thither. The King in the mean time made a flying march from Pernaw to Revel, and thence to Narva, with only his 4000 horse, and about the same number of foot. With these he attacked the first post, and easily dislodged and put them to flight, before they could know what strength he had. The five thousand fled to the twenty, with Charles at their heels, who immediately attacked and routed them also. They carried their consternation among the thirty thousand, who were posted within a league of the camp; and the panick seizing on these too, they retired to the main body without striking a blow. All this was done within two days and a half, and the King of Sweden then appeared, with his 8000 men, fatigued with a long march, before an army of 100,000 Muscovites, defended by 150 pieces of brass cannon.

The Duke de Croy made the best disposition he could at so short a warning; for the King, after three victories, would hardly give his men time to breathe, before they were ordered again to fall on. The Muscovite infantry were posted in an entrenchment, where they fired as in a covered-way, with a second line to support them, and the cavalry behind to support all. But this numerous army wanted the presence of their master, which would have been better than the forty thousand recruits: and he did not doubt, when he left them, but that he should come back again in time.

On

On the 30th of November 1700, about noon, the 8000 Swedes, headed by their King, began the attack. The Muscovites stood it bravely for some time, and returned a terrible fire. But a violent snow falling, was driven by the wind full in their faces, which proved of great advantage to the enemy. General Rebinder, at the head of eight battallions, pressed on with such intrepidity, that tho' the General himself fell in the charge, there was no resisting the fury of the attack. The first line was forced, and after that the second, which being driven upon the cavalry, put them in such disorder, that they could not draw up to charge. Thus in three hours time all the entrenchments were forced, and the whole right wing routed. The King pursued near fifty thousand, the number of that wing, with his own left wing of about four thousand, as far as the river of Narva, which was instantly covered with dead bodies, the bridge breaking under the Muscovites feet. The rest, after defending their barracks a short time, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Generals Dolhorucki, Gollowin, Fedorowitz, and the Duke de Croy himself, were in the number of the latter.

Charles, before the battle, did not doubt of success; and during the action behaved as if no danger could approach him. He attacked the Czar's quarters in person, not knowing him to be absent; and as he was mounting a third horse, two having been killed under him, "These fellows, says he, make me exercise." He received the prisoners of distinction, after the slaughter was over, with an air of politeness; detained only the general officers, and sent the subalterns and common soldiers, being first disarmed, over the river to return home. Then he took possession of the enemy's cannon, and wrapping himself up in his cloke, slept some hours on the ground.

But all had not yet been over, if the terror of what they saw had not affected the rest of the Mus-

*And de-
seats their
wholeright
wing.*

*His own
behaviour.*

The Muscovite left wing surrenders.

Muscovite army. Tho' their right wing was thus destroyed, the left continued fighting till night, and was still sufficient to have cut all the Swedes to pieces. The King intended, at day-break, to fall upon them with his whole force. But General Weid, who commanded that wing, hearing how well the King had used the other general officers, and that he had dismissed all the rest, sent about two o' clock in the morning to demand the same favour. This was granted, and the General appeared soon after, with 30,000 Muscovites, before less than 7000 Swedes, to whom they surrendered their arms and colours. The King then entered victorious into Narva, amid the acclamations of the people.

The Czar hears of this action.

The Muscovite horse had retreated in pretty good order, and made off towards Pleskow. They met the Czar by the way, who received their account of this defeat without the least disorder, or expressing any resentment at the conduct of his officers. He was too good a judge of the great difference between such veteran troops as the Swedes, and those that he was able to send against them, either to wonder at what had happened, or to attack the remainder of the victor's little army with his 40,000 recruits, assisted by the horse. Instead of this, he returned from whence he came, and took all possible measures to draw together the shattered remains of his own army, in order to be ready for future action.

But the King of Sweden, having relieved Narva, and gained a complete victory, put his troops into winter quarters for the season, without attempting any thing farther. This was contrary to what every one expected, and just as the Czar himself would have wished. Charles had defeated two enemies, and, without remembering how soon these might recover the shock, from this time thought only of the third. He sent over for all
the

the regular troops in Sweden, and ordered the raising of new levies for the guard of his country.

The Czar expected him again next Spring, at the head of 40,000 old soldiers, one half of which were already victorious; and accordingly prepared for the reception of such an enemy. He did not command out a certain number of men, as had been usual in Muscovy, only to serve for one campaign, and then to return to their habitations; but sent drums to beat up for volunteers all over his empire, who, with the promise of new cloaths, regular pay, and preferment according to their merit, got together a prodigious number of able-bodied young fellows. To these he made such additions from among the servants of the nobility, (who were all obliged to send one, two, or more, according to the number they kept,) that before the Spring he had near 120,000 new-listed men, all formed into regiments of four, two, or one battalion, as in other countries, and regularly disciplined.

The Czar makes new preparations.

* In the mean time the league between Poland and Muscovy was more firmly cemented than ever. The two Princes, in order the better to contrive their measures, agreed upon an interview at Birsen, a small town in Lithuania, where they met without any of those formalities which serve only to retard business. They spent fifteen days together, in the enjoyment of several extravagant pleasures, especially drinking, the great vice of the North. Augustus engaged to furnish the Czar with 50,000 German troops, to be hired of several Princes, which the Czar was to pay for; and 50,000 Russians were to be sent into Poland, to be trained up to war, for which the Czar was also to pay three millions of rix-dollars, within two years.

Has an interview with the King of Poland.

At

The result of which is discovered by Charles: At this interview, Charles, upon Count Piper's persuasion, made use of that policy, which he had hitherto disregarded. A young Scots gentleman, who spoke German, passed himself upon the colonel of horse that guarded the Czar for a native of Brandenburg, was made a lieutenant, and so insinuated himself into the favour of the secretaries, that he got from them all the secrets of their masters. No sooner had the King of Sweden this information, but he appeared with his army in Livonia, on the North of the river Duna, the Saxons being extended along the other side, ready to dispute his passage. The King himself projected the manner of it, which he performed with boats of a peculiar invention. At the same time setting fire to some wet straw, he raised a great smoke, which the north wind blew over in the face of the Saxons, and hindred them from seeing what he was about. He was over himself in a quarter of an hour, vexed to see that three men had leaped a shore before him; and no sooner had he landed his cannon, but the mist was dissipated.

Who beats the Saxons Marshal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons in conjunction with the Duke of Courland, (King Augustus being sick of a fever, occasioned by his intemperance at Birson) fell furiously upon the Swedes, with the left of his cavalry, as soon as he saw them landed; put them into disorder, and even drove them back into the river. The King rallied them in a moment in the midst of the water, and leading them on, in a body more compact than before, repulsed the marshal from the shore, and followed him into the plain. A sharp engagement immediately ensued, in which the Duke of Courland had two horses shot under him, and was himself at last carried off for dead: upon which the Saxons fell into confusion, and no longer disputed the field.

Charles,

Charles, after this victory, marched directly to Mittaw, the capital of Courland, and took it. The other towns of the dutchy surrendered at discretion, without giving him the least trouble; and when he came to Birsen, where the Czar and the King of Poland had contrived his destruction, he first conceived the thoughts of dethroning the latter, which he immediately proceeded to put in execution. The intestine divisions of the nobility, for which the Poles (the only people that preserve the old Gothic form of government) have ever been so remarkable, and which at this time run very high, partly through dissatisfaction with their King, and partly through private factions, not only encouraged him to this attempt, but contributed not a little to the making it successful.

And projects the deposition of Augustus.

The Czar, having had leisure to raise and discipline a large body of troops, posted them in great numbers on the frontiers of Livonia. Here they had continual skirmishes with the Swedes, in which tho' they were often worsted, they had the pleasure too of conquering in their turns, and finding that their enemies were not invulnerable. As they were continually recruited, they overpowered them with numbers; and by frequent fighting with these redoubted warriors, they learned to be less afraid. The King of Sweden, all this while, was so intent on his scheme of deposing Augustus, that he neglected his own subjects in Livonia; persisting in his contempt of the Muscovite troops, till he found them equal to his own. He did not enough consider what the genius of one Prince, indefatigable as the Czar Peter, might effect on the most barbarous people in a few years; nor would a thing so unparallelled be quite credible to us, were not the fact so recent.

The Russians harass the Swedes in Livonia.

The troubles of Lithuania, begun from a private quarrel between the two houses of Sapieha and Oginski, and now enflamed into an open war, gave both Muscovites and Swedes an entrance into that country.

Troops sent into Lithuania.

country. Charles espoused the party of the Sapi-cha's, and Oginski, being but badly assisted by the Saxons, found himself necessitated to call on the Czar for support ; who sent him, at two or three times, no less than 30,000 men. But these were insufficient to make head against the victorious Swedes, who had usually the advantage in all encounters. The lands of the Poles and Lithuanians were all the time ravaged by both parties, and the Muscovites carried off a very considerable booty.

*Account of
the Polish
forces.*

* The nobility of Poland, who make the laws of the republic, likewise constitute its strength. They appear in arms upon great occasions, and can form a body of more than 150,000 men. This great army, called the *Pospolite*, moves heavily, and is ill governed. They want discipline, subordination, and experience ; and the scarcity of provisions makes it impossible for them ever to subsist long together. The love of liberty only, which animates them, is what renders them formidable. As they look upon themselves to be the only bulwark of the republic, they never suffer their King to build any fort, lest he should employ it for their oppression, rather than their defence. When they mount on horseback, it is by order of the Diet, and sometimes, in great extremity, by the King's order alone. The usual guard of Poland, which subsists at the expence of the State, is made up of two different bodies, independent of each other, and commanded by their respective grand generals, who, tho' nominated by the King, are accountable only to the republick. The Polish General has 36,000 men, and the Lithuanian 12,000, under the most absolute command. The very colonels, in their several regiments, are a sort of petty sovereigns,

Augustus

* M. de Voltaire.

Augustus, harrassed and threatened by the implacable Swede, flattered himself that the Pospolite would arm at his orders, and that the two crown armies would fight for him; which, with the Saxons his subjects, and the Muscovites his Allies, would make up a body that must quite overpower the enemy. But the beginning of his reign had too much provoked the party who opposed his election, and almost alienated his friends. The Saxon troops of Augustus, which might be made use of to oppress them, were, in the opinion of the Poles, more dreadful than the Swedish army, whose quarrel was not with the nation, but with the King only. They did not even wish success to a war, which, by making their sovereign master of Livonia, would put their liberty more in his power. The Lithuanian army had been wasted in the contention between the two parties, and the remains of it were dispersed by the conqueror: the army in Poland, instead of the 36,000 men prescribed by law, consisted hardly of 18,000; and the generals were undetermined what course they should take. The Pospolite he did not dare to summon, for fear of being mortified by a refusal. In this distress the palatinates obliged him to call a diet, in which Charles had as much interest as himself. The cardinal primate in particular, who was president, had been at first an enemy to the election of Augustus, and now secretly intrigued with the King of Sweden, to get his sovereign deposed, to whom he at the same time paid all the outward respect that his duty required.

*The distress
of King
Augustus.*

The history of Poland is no farther a part of this work, than as it serves to illustrate the Czar's proceedings; and therefore I shall be as short upon it as possibly I can. Every one knows what followed in that kingdom. The Diet obliged the King to ask peace of the Swede, and then, upon being repulsed, to throw himself into the arms of

the senate. The senate too gave him up to the conqueror, who entirely defeated him near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. His throne was declared vacant, and Stanislaus Leczinski elected in his place, whom the King of Sweden obliged him to congratulate, under his own hand, upon his accession.

*Progress of
the Czar in
the mean
time.*

The Czar too well understood his own interest, not to make advantage of this obstinate warmth of the King of Sweden, who was now pursuing Augustus to his ruin. He had before 20,000 men in Lithuania, to keep the Swedes on that side employed; and having caused another army to march towards Great Poland, to succour Augustus, he sent 60,000 of his most regular and best disciplined foot, with 20,000 horse, into Livonia, and at the same time led 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse into Ingria. It was in the beginning of May 1702, that these armies began to be in motion: seventy thousand men were already assembled about Pleskow, and numbers came up with them every day. Had not the King of Sweden, at that juncture, been infatuated with his contemptuous opinion of the Russian forces, he would certainly have taken the alarm, and endeavoured to preserve so fine a province as Livonia, the flower of all his dominions. But the Muscovites entered it without opposition, under Marshal Czeremetoff, about the beginning of July.

Schlippenbach, the Swedish General, lay then encamped between Dorpt and Revel. Czeremetoff knew this well; but being quite ignorant of his strength, durst not venture to attack any place. As the ports were open behind him, the enemy might receive fresh forces every day from Sweden; and Meyfeldt, who commanded in Lithuania, was near enough to succour him upon occasion. This made the Marshal resolve to seek out the Swedes, and fight them in the open field, that the same game might not be played again, which had been unluckily played before Narva.

On the 16th of July, the field Marshal Prince *Czeremetoff beats the Swedes* Czeremetoff having advice that the Swedes were marching to meet him, advanced directly forwards. The Swedish General, hearing what disparity of numbers he had to deal with, halted at a village called Stagnitz, on the river Embeck, as if he would there expect the Russians; but so far was he in fact from seeming to dread them, that he did not so much as offer to intrench. At length the Russians appeared, in such admirable order of battle, that the Swede was not a little astonished. He then thought it safest, after taking a view of their number and order, to repass the river, breaking the bridges behind him; notwithstanding that 300 of his horse, whom he had sent before to reconnoitre the foes, had drove 1000 of them back to the body of their army. But the river being low, the Prince, by the help of pontoons, wafted over his artillery, and after that the rest of his forces. Schlippenbach seeing it impossible to avoid an engagement, began it with such bravery, that the advantage at first seemed to be on the Swedish side. The Muscovites retired a German mile, lost six pieces of cannon, with part of their baggage and colours; and some of them leaped into the river. But the rest of their army, ashamed to fly before a number so inferior, faced about on a sudden, and put the Finland cavalry into such confusion, that they fell foul on the infantry, and fled without any possibility of being rallied. The Swedish artillery, as well their own as what they had taken, fell into the Muscovites hands, and almost all their infantry were cut to pieces.

This action began about six in the morning, and lasted ten hours. The Swedes lost 7 captains, 30 Lieutenants, 11 Ensigns, 25 subalterns, 37 drums, and 1916 common soldiers. About 1200 more were taken prisoners. The loss of the Muscovites, tho' much greater, was hardly perceptible on account of their numbers. Shlip-

penbach would fain have rallied again, but finding it impossible to stop his cavalry, he fled with them to Pernaw: after which the Muscovites ravaged the country, putting all before them to fire and sword, in order to terrify the Livonians into submission; things not agreeable to his Czarish Majesty's temper, but thought necessary at this time.

Success of the Russians in Livania; The state of the war now took a new turn, and the Swedes were every where defeated, not only in Livonia, but in Lithuania also. Oginski and his party, supported by the Russian troops, routed them twice in a week's time. In the first action they killed 400, and took 800 prisoners: in the second, they killed 1000, and took 700. Czeremetoff in the mean time sat down before Dorpt, sending out detachments to scour the country to the gates of Pernaw and Riga, to prevent the Swedes gathering together any troops to relieve the place.

In Ingria; The Czar's affairs went on no less prosperously in Ingria, where he commanded himself. The fortress of Skans-ternie or Nie-skans, after a vigorous attack, was surrendered to his troops; as was also Nottberg, a town higher up the river Neva. And 24,000 of his men being sent over into Finland, in 400 transport vessels, gave battle in the open field to the Swedes under Major-General Crooniort, and entirely defeated them, a very few only escaping, with their General, into Wyburg. In this incursion the Muscovites carried off 3 colonels, two Majors, 18 captains, 25 Lieutenants, 17 Ensigns, 3 cornets, 1000 soldiers, and many other persons.

The Czar invites people into his dominions. His Czarish Majesty was now master of all the open country in these provinces, tho' most of the great towns still remained in the hands of the Swedes. Reflecting therefore on the havock which war had here made, grieved at the misfortunes of the unhappy people, and willing at the

the same time to make an acquisition of valuable subjects, he published a proclamation, inviting all the natives of these, and any other countries, to come and settle in his dominions; promising, that immediately at their arrival upon his frontiers, they should be conducted where they would please to inhabit, have the free exercise of their religion, and follow what employment they thought most to their advantage, without being liable to any duty or impost; that those who were capable to undertake any trade, and had not wherewithal to manage it, should be supplied with money out of his treasury; and lastly, that when they were desirous to leave his dominions, they should have free liberty so to do, and their expences borne to the frontiers.

In December 1702, the city of Narva had like to have been surpris'd; but the project for that time failed of success. The Muscovites seized the advanced guards, came under the very cannon of the city, and pillaged and burnt all the neighbouring villages. The cavalry of the garrison sallied out upon them, but were beaten back to their counterescarp; and the Swedes, in a word, went every where to wreck.

The city of Dorpt being now closely besieged by the Russians, the Czar came before it in person. He found a resolute garrison, who defended the place inch by inch: but they too, in their turn, saw another sort of Muscovites than they had encountered two years before; men who made their approaches as regularly, and attacked as boldly, as the soldiers of any other nation. The outworks were carried by degrees, and about 27 days after the trenches were opened, the garrison, finding they could not hold out, and that no relief was to be expected, beat a parley to surrender, and had very honourable conditions. They marched out on the 26th of July, and were conducted to Riga. The Czar appeared on horseback as they passed

passed by, at the head of his body guards, with his sword drawn in his hand; returned the salute of the governor, and gave him leave, at his request, to retire to Narva, tho' that city was then blocked up by his Majesty's forces, under General Schein.

*An account
of Catha-
rine Erb-
Magden,
after-
wards
Empress.*

The taking of Marienburg by General Baur, in 1702, soon after the Czar himself was become master of Notteburg, obliges us to make a digression concerning that illustrious prisoner, who then fell into the hands of the Muscovites, and a few years after became their Empress. * The baptismal name of this extraordinary woman was Martha, which she afterwards changed to Catharine, upon conforming to the Greek religion. Her mother was a poor country woman, named Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen in Estonia, near the lake Worthsy. Who her father was is not so certain, some making him only a ditcher, while others advance him to a colonel. If the latter be true, it seems the more probable that she was not born in wedlock; and accordingly we are assured, she was registred among the bastard children. She was left an orphan very young by both father and mother, and the vicar of the parish, (others say the clerk) out of pure charity, brought her up till she was fourteen years of age, as if she had been his own.

Dr. Gluck, a Lutheran minister of Marienburg, coming to this village, took a fancy to Martha, and, willing to ease his reverend brother, whose circumstances were low, had her home with him. Being endued with virtuous inclinations, she won the affection both of the doctor and his wife, who loved her very tenderly. She was naturally an enemy to idleness, and spent her time in spinning, sewing, and other works suitable to her sex

* M. de Voltaire, &c. M. de la Motraye's Travels, Vol. III. P. 128.

fex and age; all which she performed exceedingly well. When she came to Marienburg she spoke only the Livonian dialect; but having learned to read at Ringen she soon became mistress of the German tongue, and spent all her vacant hours at her book. Her amiable character recommended her, at 18 years of age, to a Livonian serjeant in the Swedish service (Voltaire calls him only a dragoon) a man of good family, who having a small estate of his own, and being in a fair way to preferment, soon obtained her patron's consent to marry her, and the doctor himself performed the ceremony.

The next day the Muscovites, under the command of Lieutenant General Baur, made themselves masters of Marienburg, a weak place, and but poorly defended. Martha, or Catharine, was among the prisoners; and the General observing, notwithstanding the tears that fell from her eyes, something in her face that struck him very much, he asked her several questions concerning her condition; to which she returned answers with more good sense than is usual to persons of mean education. He spoke to her tenderly, ordered her to be treated with regard, and soon after gave her the inspection over his family affairs. Her behaviour to the General's domesticks recommended her to their esteem; and the General himself owned, that he never was so well served as at this time. But she had not been long in his service, before Prince Menzikoff, her master's patron, saw and liked her, enquired her condition and character, and expressed his desire of having such a woman, as the General described her to be, to manage his own family. The General had too many obligations to the Prince, to deny him any thing: accordingly he called Catharine, told her that was Prince Menzikoff, and related what had passed; adding, that the Prince could be a much better friend to her than himself. She an-

She is taken by the Muscovites.

swered

*The Czar
falls in
love with
her.*

swered only with a low curtesy, which expressed, if not her consent, that it was out of her power to refuse the offer. The Prince took her home with him the same hour, and she continued in his service till 1703 or 1704, when the Czar saw her one day as he was at dinner with his Highness, spoke to her, and received a stronger impression from her charms than either of his servants had felt before. In short, his Majesty took her to himself, and was so far from being satiated with the enjoyment of her person, that in 1707 he married her privately, and some years after in public. What was most to Catharine's honour, in this advancement, was, that she used no artifice to delude the Monarch, which on a Prince of his penetration would hardly have taken effect; but he found in her an astonishing capacity, a greatness of soul capable of forwarding his designs, and even of continuing them after him: for this reason he scorned the weak prejudices, by which only little souls are influenced, caused her to be crowned Empress, and left her in the possession of his throne.

What became of Catharine's husband is as uncertain, as what was the character or post he had in the Swedish army. One account tells us, that he behaved with such bravery in the defence of Marienburg, that he was made a lieutenant-colonel; and if every Swede, say they, had fought with equal courage, the Muscovites had not taken the town. Perhaps the liberty of a new wife, whom he entirely loved, and some say had never enjoyed (being called to action from his wedding dinner) might inspire him on this occasion. But we hear nothing of what became of this lieutenant-colonel afterwards, nor that ever he made any attempts to recover his wife. Others affirm that he was out on a party when the town was taken; and others again, that he was one of the body who retired to Riga, when they were no longer

longer able to defend the place. These made him inconsolable for the loss of his dear Catharine, whom he despaired of ever seeing again. "He would never, he said, go to that place, where for a few days he had been the happiest of men, as he was now the most unfortunate; but would seek death in Poland, where his master would give him opportunities enough of meeting it." Perhaps the husband of Catharine might have the less hopes of seeing her again, as he had heard that the Muscovites had sent many families prisoners into Russia, and sold several young girls for slaves to the Turks. From one of these girls, whom de la Motraye bought of the Janissaries, and who knew Catharine, that author assures us he had several of the foregoing particulars.

The taking of Marienburg, which was so great a misfortune to the husband, proved to the wife an epocha of the greatest happiness that mortal could aspire to. By her complaisance and engaging behaviour, she made herself mistress of all the Czar's passions and affections, and saved the lives of many more persons than Le Fort had been able to do. A word from her mouth, says our author, in favour of a wretch just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him: but, if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution to be done in her absence. She acquired the love and esteem of soldiers, sailors, and every one else. As she accompanied the Czar in all his dangers and fatigues, she would often go herself, before or after an engagement, followed by some of her servants, with bottles of strong liquor, and with her own hands fill out glasses to give them.

Her influence over the Czar.

The order of St. Catharine, instituted in 1713, after his public marriage, and the motto of it, *Thro' love and fidelity*, are a standing instance of the Czar's love and affection to this lady. Persons who had been continually about his Majesty, from

from the time of his knowing her, assured M. de la Motraye, that he had a perfect indifference for all other women, and never shewed the least jealousy but once, which was a few weeks before he died. He unluckily saw his chamberlain, who was one of the handsomest men in Russia, kiss her hand one day, as he gave her his arm to help her out of her chaise. This made the Czar suspect he had some presumptuous designs on her virtue, and that his sister, who was one of her maids of honour, might favour the bold attempt. In this opinion he went out alone one morning to the monastery of St. Alexander Newski, and left orders to hang the chamberlain, and then cut off his head and expose it on a post; and to give his sister the knout under the gallows, and banish her; all which was executed in less than half an hour after his departure. The next day he went with the Empress to take the air, and ordered the chaise, both in going and coming, to pass by the post. But undoubtedly he was convinced, before his death, that this suspicion was ill-grounded, because he left her sovereign of Russia, and had the oath for that purpose renewed. As soon as the Czar died, the Empress recalled the chamberlain's sister from banishment: and, in the midst of her grandeur, she did not forget her benefactors, but gave a pension to M. Gluck and his family.—I thought it best to throw together these particulars, most of which are found in de la Motraye, tho' some of them are very distant in order of time.

Count d'Albert dissuades his master from abandoning Livonia. The same author assures us, that Count d'Albert, who commanded for the King of Sweden in Livonia, represented to that Prince all that his long experience in war could dictate, to divert him, after the battle of Narva, from carrying the war into Poland, and leaving his own provinces exposed. And when that General saw the progress of the Muscovites, under good foreign officers, he

he could not help saying, “ The King, my master, has left me here with a handful of men only to exercise his enemies, that they may be able to beat us ;” Adding, that he wished the King had lost the day at Narva, which might have prevented the loss of Livonia. The event soon proved, that the Count was no bad politician.

When the Czar had taken Notteburg, now called Sleutelburg, in 1702, and the year after Nieshantz, or Shantz-ter-nie, a trading town in Ingria, he observed several islands at the mouth of the river Neva, about a German mile lower, which he thought would be a convenient situation for a new city, that might open a communication with the Baltick. He ordered a fort to be built on one of these islands, and sent a detachment of troops to make themselves masters of Retufari, another island in the gulph of Finland, which commands the passage to the mouth of the Neva. This they accomplished after a smart engagement, in which the Swedes were driven on board their ships that lay under the island. The Czar then examined and sounded the coasts, and finding every thing answer his wishes, immediately set upon his new project, which was no less than building an Imperial city, for the seat of his own residence. Such a city here, would not only be a check upon the Swedes, but might be the center of a far greater trade than Archangel could ever be. He drew himself the plan of the town, the fortress, the port, the keys, and the castle which defended the entrance.

*The design
of building
Peters-
burg.*

* These desert and uncultivated islands, which were nothing but a heap of mud in the short summer of that climate, and in winter a frozen pool ; which were not to be approached by land, but by passing over wild forests, and deep morasses, and had till then been the habitation of bears and
* O wolves,

Executed.

wolves, were in 1703 filled with above 300,000 men, whom the Czar had called together from the farthest parts of his dominions. The peasants of Astracan, and those who inhabit the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to break thro' forests, to open ways, to dry up moors, to raise banks, before he could lay the foundations of the town. The whole was a force put upon nature : but the Czar was resolved to people a country, which did not seem designed for the habitation of human creatures. Not the inundations which ruined his works, not the barrenness of the soil, not the ignorance of the workmen, nor a mortality which carried off above 100,000 men, could shake his fixed resolution. Posterity will stand amazed at its being founded amidst so many obstacles, as nature, the genius of the people, and an unfortunate war, had raised against it. Petersburg was become a city in 1705, and its port was filled with vessels. The Emperor drew strangers thither in great numbers, by the rewards he gave them ; bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging all the artists, who came to civilize the savage climate. Above all, he made it inaccessible to the efforts of the enemy. The Swedish Generals, who frequently beat his troops in other quarters, were not able to do the least damage to this growing colony, which enjoyed a perfect calm amidst war that surrounded it.

* Whether his ministers were averse to this design, or by whatever other accident it happened, there were at first neither provisions to subsist the workmen, nor wheelbarrows, shovels, and other tools, to work with. This did but little retard the project ; the Czar overlooked it himself, and the dirt was carried in bags, or the skirts of the men's clothes, till they were furnished with better

ter conveniences. The nobility, merchants, and tradesmen, were ordered to transplant themselves from several parts of the Empire, to erect houses for themselves, and strengthen the new colony. Finland, Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia, having lately suffered so much by military executions, saw themselves half depopulated in favour of Petersburg. Those who had knowledge or interest in trade, made great advantages by furnishing the rest with the necessaries of life, which in time became tolerably plenty, tho' they still continue dear. In a few years arose 60,000 houses, where *Descripti-* in 1702 were only a few miserable huts. As the *on of Pe-* whole stands partly upon islands, and partly upon *tersburg.* the continent, it appears at a distance rather like several distant towns, than a single city. The lowness of the country makes it subject to frequent inundations, by which great losses have been often sustained. The breadth of the river Neva at Petersburg is about half a mile, and the current is very deep and rapid: but where it opens into the bay the sands render it shallow, which obliges large ships to unload short of the town. It was proposed to the Czar to build a bridge of pontoons over this river (any other bridge being judged impracticable on account of the rapidity of the stream :) but he would not consent to it, because it was his intention to train up as many sailors as possible. A great many passengers at first were downed, before the Russians became dextrous at managing their sails; and oars were then prohibited: but they are since allowed to people of fashion, who keep their own watermen, generally four in number.

There are some handsome stone-buildings, palaces, and churches in Petersburg; but most of the houses are of wood. The sides consist of square pieces of fir timber, laid one upon another. Turnips, cabbages, and cucumbers, are almost the only plants that grow near this city, which

is supplied with provision from Novogrod, Pleskow, Moscow, and even from Casan, 1200 miles distant. Thousands of sleds are perpetually travelling in winter for this end, loaded with corn, flour, fruits, and the several products of the respective countries; which in the summer are brought by the lakes and rivers. When the boats happen to meet with any accident, every thing grows excessively dear on a sudden, not in Petersburg only, but in the country round it, which is all furnished by the same channels.

Cronslot. Retufari lies about 12 miles to the Westward of Petersburg, at the mouth of the gulph of Finland, and the only passage for ships is on the south of this island, where the channel is about two thousand paces broad, and very deep. Tho' the soil of the island is barren, the Czar Peter, observing the advantage of its situation, built in it first a castle, which he called Cronslot, and then a pretty large town by the name of Cronstadt, making a commodious harbour for the reception of his fleet. The coast of Ingria, from Cronslot, up to Petersburg, is full of pleasure-houses; among which are the Imperial ones of Oranjenbaum, Petershoff, and Stelna-Muise, all elegantly built in the modern taste, the first by Prince Menzikoff, and the two latter by the Czar.

Narva taken.

While these new colonies were thus growing under his hands, the Czar resolved on the attack of Narva, and the fort of Ivanogrod that lay over against it. The trenches were opened on the beginning of August 1704, and after a regular siege of 13 days, in which 40 pieces of cannon and 12 mortars were employed, he took the place by assault, tho' the garrison consisted of 1600 men. As soon as the soldiers were masters of the town, they fell to plunder, and gave themselves up to the most horrid barbarities. The Czar ran himself from place to place, to put a stop to the Muscovites; snatched the women out of the hands
of

of the soldiers, who were going to cut their throats, after having abused their bodies ; and even killed several Muscovites with his own hands, who did not obey his orders. They yet shew the table, says M. de Voltaire, in the town-house at Narva, upon which he laid his sword as he entered, and tell the words which he spoke to the citizens, who thronged thither after him. “ It “ is not with the blood of the inhabitants that my “ sword is stained, but with that of the Musco- “ vites, which I have shed in your defence.” The Czar’s disgrace before Narva, about 4 years before, was entirely cancelled by this action. The castle of Ivanogrod held out for some days after the town ; but fearing at last to share the same fate, the governor surrendered it upon honourable conditions.

The Swedes were not a little uneasy at this progress of his Majesty’s arms, as well as at the success with which his works went on at Petersburg and Cronstot. Their King alone, whom on this occasion one might have expected to find chiefly concerned, seemed utterly insensible of what he was losing, as well in glory as in dominion. When he was told of the buildings carrying on by the Czar, “ Let him amuse himself, says Charles, if “ he thinks proper, in raising of cities : I shall soon “ take them from him, and either keep them, “ or burn them if they are not worth keeping.”

But Major-General Meydel, who commanded in Carelia, and admiral Ankersteirn, with the whole Swedish fleet, were soon convinced by experience, that it was no such easy thing, as their master had imagined, to wrest his new possessions out of the hands of the Czar. The former landed a detach-
ment on the island of Retusari, which returned
without being able to effect any thing against the
fortress ; and the other was repulsed before Cron-
stot, by a fleet much inferior to his own, com-
manded by General Bruce.

*A fruitless
attempt of
the Swedes*

Thus, after some ill success at the beginning, the Czar gained daily very considerable advantages, which were all of such a nature as to do honour to his genius. — With such surprising rapidity did his subjects form themselves for great actions, that there were now hopes of soon seeing them an equal match for the Swedes. At the end of only four years we behold the Czar in a great measure master of Ingria, Livonia, and Carrelia; and building an Imperial city upon his new acquisitions, that was already proof against all the efforts of his enemies.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F

P E T E R the *G R E A T*,
E M P E R O R of *R U S S I A*.

B O O K V.

From the deposition of Augustus by the King of Sweden, to the victory of Pultowa won by the Czar, upon which Augustus remounts the throne of Poland.

WHILE all this was transacted, the affairs of Poland were brought to that crisis before mentioned; which obliged his Majesty, in regard to his ally King Augustus, to concern himself with them more immediately than he had done. He sent a letter to the assembly, held by the cardinal primate at Warsaw, just when it was upon the point of declaring the throne vacant; *The Czar writes to the assembly at Warsaw.*

cant ; wherein he mentioned the “ having heard that some of their republic, led by the motives of an inveterate hatred, had made use of all possible means to drive his Polish Majesty from his throne ; but that the good opinion he had of their equity and justice, long hindered his giving credit to these reports : that as the evil was now however manifest, his Majesty interposed to prevent its spreading, and support the King in his right ; declaring himself an enemy to all those who were enemies to their sovereign, and the friend and protector of all who should continue loyal.”

*Sends an
army into
Poland.*

In consequence of this letter, and at the request of King Augustus, the Czar ordered a body of 45,000 men to march to the frontiers of Poland, on the side of Sandomir, and there to receive orders from his Polish Majesty. These forces came very opportunely for the unfortunate Prince, who was closely pursued by the Swedish General Renchild. For some little time they gave a new face to his affairs : for whereas he had been obliged, with great precipitation, to pass the Vistula at Petrowin, near Sandomir, and break down the bridge behind him ; he was now enabled to halt under protection of this powerful army, and summon his friends about him. Their number seemed greater than he had imagined, and not only those who had hitherto been faithful, but all the other palatinates on that side, awed at the sight of so many forces, sent in their deputies ; who took a new oath to their King, and entered into a confederacy in opposition to that of Warsaw. They declared, “ any Prince, who should take upon him the title of King of Poland, an enemy to the country ; pronounced the primate and the bishop of Posnania, who were esteemed the chief promoters of the defection, rebels and traitors ; and forbid the governors and commanders of the fortresses to obey the Marshal of the crown, and re-
spect

spect only the orders of the Marshal of the Royal Confederacy." In the mean time the primate and his party, who thought themselves safe under the victorious Swedes, disregarded the Czar's letter, and proceeded to the degradation of Augustus, and the election of a new King. But the choice at last not pleasing the primate, he was from that time a friend to neither of the Kings. This revolution was in the month of February 1704.

Augustus made some efforts to restore his affairs, *He surpris-*
and even surpris'd the city of Warsaw so sudden- *ses Warsaw*
ly, that the cardinal primate, the new Queen, with several palatines and grandees, were obliged to escape with the utmost precipitation. He took the castle afterwards by capitulation, and in it a great number of prisoners, Swedes and Poles. Among the latter was the bishop of Posenania, who proclaimed the new King, and died a prisoner not long after in Saxony; the castellan Kimpiski, and two sons of the castellan of Cracow. Hoorn, the Swedish General, obtained leave upon his parole, to go to the camp of his master, upon condition that he should surrender himself two months after in Saxony.

The Czar, after the taking of Narva, had divided his army into three bodies: the first was to block up Revel, the second Riga, and the third to cover their camp, and guard the passes into the country. But the desperate situation of his Ally, whom he was resolv'd not to desert, prevented for the present his opening these sieges in form. The forces he had already sent into Poland, tho' pretty numerous, were not able to make head against the King of Sweden, who had hitherto carried victory where-ever he went in person. Count Shullemburg, to whom Augustus had given the care of his army in this last extremity, had made a glorious stand against King Charles, and a more glorious retreat when his loss was judged inevitable; but all this did little service to his master,
who.

*The Czar
enters Po-
land with
an army.*

who was once more obliged to abandon Poland, and withdraw into Saxony, trembling for the capital of his hereditary estates, which he new fortified with all possible expedition. It was at this juncture that the Czar entered Poland in person, with an army of 100,000 men, resolving to give battle to the Swedes: and as he had never before made war there in his own name, he thought it proper to publish a manifesto to the Polish nation, in order to convince them of the justice of his undertaking. This paper is dated from his headquarters at Potosk, June the 23d, 1705, and contains in substance as follows.

*His mani-
festo.*

“That, pursuant to his alliances with the republic and King Augustus, his Majesty had used his utmost endeavours to oblige the King of Sweden to retire out of Poland, and, in his letter sent to the republic, declared his utmost abhorrence of the faction who for two years had sought to depose their lawful King: that Leszczinski, Waywode of Posenania, had nevertheless been elected King, by an inconsiderable party, in opposition to the cardinal primate, and other persons of the first rank; the Swede persisting obstinately to maintain his election, and exercising an absolute power over the republic: that by reason of the distance of his Czarish Majesty’s troops, and the animosities between those of the republic, King Augustus had been obliged to march into Saxony, to secure his electorate from an intended invasion, and was obstructed by the Swedes in his return to Poland; who had shut up all the passages, published circular letters to confirm the unlawful election, and summoned a diet in consequence thereof: that the enemy had endeavoured to get it believed, that the party of the new King was espoused by the primate and the King of Prussia, which his Czarish Majesty could not imagine it would be by any, except such subjects of the republic as were blinded by bribes: that these things considered,

his

his Majesty resolved to defend his brother and Ally King Augustus; and with that view, upon a petition delivered to him from the republic, was advanced in person with an army into Poland, in order to expel the enemy who had disturbed its peace, without any pretensions himself upon the rights of the republic."

Field-Marshal Czeremetoff was sent before in *Mittaw* this expedition with 18 or 20,000 men, to harraß *surprised* the enemy, and make the way clear to Riga. In *by the Mus-* the mean time General Baur, with 20,000 horse, *covites.* penetrated as far as Mittaw, the capital of Courland: which he took by surprise, cut to pieces a regiment of Swedes commanded by Colonel Knoring, and carried off prisoners all whom he found, with a great booty. The Swedish General Leuwenhaupt, who lay in the heart of Courland with about 8000 men, might probably have prevented this design, had intelligence of it been brought him in time. But it was so suddenly executed, that he had nothing to do, upon receipt of the news, but to prepare for an engagement with the Field-Marshal. For this purpose he chose a very narrow spot of ground, where his little army might make head without extending themselves, and without danger of being attacked on all sides at once. The place he pitched upon was called *The battle* Gemaurthoff, and the consequence of his disposition was a considerable victory, which he did not *of Gem-* however obtain without the loss of two general *aurthoff.* officers, a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, many captains and inferior officers, and near 2000 men. The Russian Field-Marshal lost 5 or 6000 men, and was himself wounded, tho' the advantage for some time, seemed to be on his side. The Swedes themselves, in their account of this action, gave the Russians the character of behaving like brave soldiers. Leuwenhaupt gained so little by his victory, that he was in no condition to pursue the Field-Marshal; but leaving the Dutchy

Dutchy exposed, was obliged to retire into Riga, which was some time after invested by the troops he had beaten. The Czar declared himself the protector of Courland, and ordered the inhabitants to send all the arms and effects of the enemy to his commissary, Prince Menzikoff, who rigorously exacted the execution of his master's ordinance.

All this while the King of Sweden continued inactive in his camp, having summoned a general diet at Warsaw, for the coronation of his new monarch. The interest his Czarish Majesty had to prevent the meeting of this assembly, which he knew the conqueror would awe to a compliance, made him for the present desist from other designs, in order the better to look after that great affair. In the mean time he wrote to the citizens of Dantzick, as did also Count Piper on the part of the King of Sweden, to complain of their shewing protection to those in the opposite interest; the conduct of the Dantzickers being at this time so equivocal, as to give satisfaction neither to Swedes nor Russians.

An interview between the Czar and K. Augustus.

Count Patkul the Livonian, first a subject of Sweden, then servant to King Augustus, and now ambassador from the Czar to that Prince, had, by the orders of his master, persuaded the deposed monarch to venture across Poland to Grodno, to confer with his Czarish Majesty upon their common interest. The King set out from Dresden incognito, attended by only three persons, and arrived at Grodno with General Shullemburg, and a few troops. The Czar there presented him with six Standards, a moiety of what the Russians had taken at the bridge of Praag, upon the Vistula, where they had surprised and beaten the Swedish guard. * As the dethroned King was no longer afraid of exasperating the Poles, he made no scruple, in these conferences, to give up their coun-

* Voltaire. Histoire de Charles XII.

country to the Muscovites, and came into a resolution that the Czar's army should be divided into several bodies, to oppose every motion of the Swedes.

It was at this interview that King Augustus instituted the order of the White Eagle; a poor expedient, in his condition, to draw over to his interest several Polish lords, who were in fact more desirous of real advantages, than a meer nominal honour; which became ridiculous when held from one who had nothing left of a king but the title. *The order of the White Eagle instituted.* But the spirits of Augustus seemed to be quite depressed by his misfortunes; and this, which could have no other ill effect than to shew how little he reigned in Poland, was not the only instance he gave of his weakness, during the triumphs of the King of Sweden. Another farce that was here performed, had in it something truly instructive, and deserves, says M. Fontenelle, to be acted before all the monarchs of the universe.

* According to the law which the Czar had prescribed to himself, never to advance in military dignities but in proportion to his merit, his Majesty, hitherto but a lieutenant-colonel, was now worthy of some higher preferment. *The Czar made a colonel in his own army.* There were two vacant regiments to be disposed of, and Peter intreated the King of Poland to take upon him the sovereign command of his army, in order to confer them on the most deserving. The proposition of filling up these posts was made in public by General Ogilvi. King Augustus said, he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Muscovite officers, and begged him to nominate the men whom he thought most worthy of this dignity. Ogilvi mentioned Prince Alexander Menzikoff, and Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Alexiowitz. The King said, he knew the merit of Menzikoff, and would immediately order his commission to be got ready;

* P' but,

but, as for the other, he must be better informed of his services. The affair hung in suspense five or six days, and much sollicitation was used for Peter Alexiowitz, who at last had the regiment given him.

*Goes to
Muscovy.*

The conference of these two monarchs ended in a manner pretty extraordinary. The Czar gave the command of his troops to his Ally, and under him, to Prince Menzikoff; departing suddenly himself for Moscow. An insurrection in the kingdom of Astracan, where the rebels for two years had ravaged the country, and even murdered the governor, was now grown to such a head, that his Majesty judged his presence might be necessary at that juncture. But the danger soon flew over, and Peter Apraxin, whom his Majesty had sent with an army for that purpose, not only retook Astracan, but sent the chiefs of the malcontents to Moscow, where they received the punishment due to their crimes.

*Count Pat-
kul seized.*

It was not more to the surprise of his Czarish Majesty, than of all the other powers in Europe, that King Augustus, contrary to the law of nations, and in appearance to his own interest, ordered Count Patkul, the ambassador of the only Prince who protected him, to be seized and imprisoned, almost as soon as his master was gone out of Poland. The reason M. de Voltaire gives for this unprecedented step, was his attempt to thwart the measures of Count Fleming, the King's prime minister, whose haughty spirit had before driven him from the court of Dresden. Fleming, and the Chancellor of Saxony, had proposed to offer peace at any rate to the King of Sweden; which Patkul discovering, he formed a design to prevent them by an accommodation between Charles and the Czar. Thus, by serving his new master too well, he incurred the indignation of the master he had left, and at last was given up to the vengeance of
one

one prior to them both, who claimed him as a natural subject.

In the mean time the Muscovites, on the one hand, divided into several bodies, burnt and ravaged the estates of the Stanislaus party; and on the other, Shullemburg was advancing with fresh troops. But the King of Sweden putting himself in motion, at a time when both armies expected to have gone into quarters, neither the Saxons nor Russians could make head against him. He de-
Marches of the K. of Sweden in Winter.
 camped from Blonic in the month of December, passed the Vistula on a bridge of boats, and marched with all expedition to attack Tyckoczin. Tho' the Muscovites had secured the bridges over the Bog, he crossed that river on the ice, with his whole army and train of artillery. Finding Tyckoczin too well defended, by a garrison of 3000 men, he bent his march towards Grodno, where the King of Poland then lay. He came within a mile of the city, but turned away again upon sight of the fortifications, passed the river Niemen, and extended his army between Vilna and Grodno. Augustus held a council of war, in which it was agreed his army should lie still where it was, to harraßs the Swedes, while the King himself went towards the South of Poland, to re-establish his credit, and provide for the entrance of 20,000 troops from Saxony, under General Shullemburg.

Marshal Renchild, the Parmenio of King Charles, and the best of all his generals, was ready in Poland to oppose this famous Shullemburg, who with 4000 men had once eluded the fortune of the King of Sweden. The two generals met at a place called Fravenstad, on the 12th of February, 1706, and an engagement ensued, which lasted not a quarter of an hour. The Saxons resisted scarcely a moment, and 6 or 7000 Muscovites, who were with them, behaved but little better; such was their terror at this time, tho' the Swedish
The battle of Fravenstad.
 P 2 troops

troops were not above half their united number. No defeat was ever quicker or more complete; and yet never did general make a finer disposition, than Shullenburg had that day done, by confession of all the Swedish officers. The Muscovites begged their lives upon their knees, but were inhumanly massacred in cold blood six hours after the battle. Some ascribe this cruelty to King Charles's own order, who was jealous of the reputation his general had won in this action; but others lay the blame on Renschild himself, who was burthened with more prisoners than he well knew what to do with.

Charles enters Saxony.

Augustus, who was advanced as far as Cracow with 3000 horse, had now nothing left but that city. The loss of the battle at Fravenstad quite disheartened his party, and enabled the King of Sweden to drive the Russians out of Lithuania. Then immediately turning South, and joining Marshal Renschild, he entered Saxony with his army, encamped at Alt-Ranstadt, and began to raise contributions on the Electorate. This was the crisis of the King of Poland's fate, who now sent a letter with his own hand to beg peace, and received the conditions imposed by the victor; "That he should renounce for ever the crown of Poland, even after the death of Stanislaus;" "That he should send back the prisoners he had taken to the Swedish camp;" "That he should deliver up all deserters, and in particular Count Patkul." Charles wrote at the head of the paper, "It must not be expected I shall make the least alteration in these conditions." Nor could all the art of the Saxon plenipotentiaries soften him in any one particular,

Augustus received these mortifying terms, and signed them after some pause, at a time when it was in his power to have demanded better. Fortune had thrown success in his way, quite against his consent, while he was making the most abject

ject submission that a prince could submit to: in *Tho' he has*
 short, he was just returned, for the first time, from *obtained a*
 a victory over the Swedes, while his plenipotentiaries were asking a peace of their king. *victory over his enemies:*

* Prince Menzikoff, Generalissimo of the Russian army, brought into Poland a body of 30,000 men, at a time when Augustus no longer desired their assistance. The King had with him some Polish and Saxon troops, in all about 6000. Surrounded amidst this small body by Prince Menzikoff's army, he trembled lest these auxiliaries should discover his negotiation. At this nice juncture 10,000 Swedes, commanded by General Meyderfield, appeared in sight, at a place called Calish, on the borders of Posenia. As Menzikoff pressed the King to give them battle, the King sent privately a trusty person to inform the Swedish general of the treaty that was on foot, desiring him to retreat. Meyderfield took this for a snare only, and immediately in that imagination hazarded a battle, in which about 3000 of his men were killed, and 4 or 5000, together with himself, taken prisoners. The King had just entered Warsaw, and sung *Te Deum* for his victory, when he signed the treaty that deprived him of his crown, and then set out for Saxony, in hopes to soften his implacable master.

Charles, far from relaxing in any one article, was the more severe upon account of the battle of Calish. He continued in Saxony near five months longer, and governed there with as high a hand as he had before done in Poland. Tho' he often saw and dined with Augustus, if the conversation ever went beyond common civilities, the latter was sure to get nothing by it. Not the least thing he could request, if contrary to the humour of the conqueror, was ever granted him in return for the loss of his crown. His royal title was erased out

*And can
 obtain no
 favour.*

of the prayers of the church, and omitted in all public instruments.

But the most grievous thing exacted of him, was the delivery of Count Patkul, who was then shut up in the castle of Konistling in Saxony. The Czar loudly demanded back his ambassador, and the King of Sweden made terrible threats, if he was not surrendered. Augustus thought of an expedient, in this dilemma, that might both satisfy the King of Sweden, and preserve the unhappy Count. He sent an order in public to deliver up the prisoner to the Swedish troops, and another in private to let him escape. The governor knew Patkul to be very rich, and would willingly have made him pay for that liberty he was commanded to give; which the Count, informed of the King's intentions, and relying on the law of nations, refused to comply with: so the negotiation went on till the Swedes arrived, and it was too late to think of his preservation. They carried him to Alt-Ranstad, where he was three months bound to a stake with an iron chain, and then removed to Casimir. A council of war was called at this last place, and Charles, forgetting he was the Czar's ambassador, ordered sentence to pass on him, that he should be broke alive and quartered. A chaplain came to him to let him know he must die, without informing him of the manner how; and this gallant man, who had braved death in so many battles, now gave way to human weakness, and poured out a flood of tears. He desired the chaplain to visit a Saxon lady, who had every advantage of birth, merit, and beauty, and to whom he had thoughts of being married about this time; to offer her all the consolation in his power, and assure her of the tenderness of his passion.

His execution.

When he was led to the place of execution, and saw the instruments of torture prepared, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself in the arms

arms of the minister. And upon hearing the sentence read by a Swedish officer, “ This is the express order of his Majesty, *our most merciful lord*, “ that this man, who is *a traitor to his country*, “ be broke upon the wheel and quartered, for the “ reparation of his crimes, and for an example to “ others;” he cried out, *What mercy? I have served my country too well.* He received sixteen blows, and endured the longest and most dreadful tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate John Renold Patkul, who had been a subject to three princes, and was now ambassador extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy.

His members were quartered, and remained exposed upon gibbets, till the year 1713, when King Augustus, having regained the throne, ordered those testimonies of the necessity he was reduced to at Alt-Ranstadt to be collected together. They were brought to him in a box to Warsaw, in presence of the French ambassador; to whom the King shewing the box, only said, *See the members of Patkul*; and no one present ventured to speak farther on so tender a subject.

The Swedes accuse Patkul of forming the plan of that triple alliance, between Muscovy, Poland, and Denmark, for bringing these powers at once upon Charles XII. Which was the reason, say they, that Charles confirmed the sentence which his father had procured against him, and continued so implacable in his resentment. De la Motraye, upon this supposition, endeavours to vindicate the King of Sweden from the charge of barbarity and injustice, which all the world has brought against him. But Voltaire, who would doubtless have been glad to bring off his hero, with his usual free good sense confesses, “ That tho’ those who looked upon him only as a subject, who had rebelled against his king, said that he deserved his death; those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province which had privileges

Reflections thereon.

vileges to defend, and who recollected that he was driven from Livonia, only for having supported those rights, called him a martyr to the liberties of his country: that all agreed, that the character of ambassador to the Czar ought to have rendered his person sacred: only that the King of Sweden, brought up in the principles of arbitrary power, thought he had done no more than an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty."

*The Czar
writes to
the Allies.*

When the Czar heard of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, and that his ambassador was delivered up in consequence of it, he spread his complaints over all Europe. He wrote to the Emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, accusing King Augustus of treachery and cowardice, conjuring those powers to mediate for the sending back his ambassador, and not to become guarantees for the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. But these letters had no other effect, than to shew how much the King of Sweden was at that time regarded. The Allies guaranteed the treaty, and did not think fit to provoke a prince of Charles's character, at a time when it was so much in his power to be revenged on the Empire. The Czar, who was then at Smolensko, with 20,000 of his best troops, and 30 or 40,000 Cossacks under the Hettman Mazeppa, found all his measures thwarted by the weakness of his Ally, and was obliged to retire into Ingria and Livonia, to secure his conquests in those parts.

*Refuses to
retaliate
Patkul's
death.*

* When the news came of Patkul's execution, it was proposed in the Czar's council to retaliate on the King of Sweden, by treating the Swedish officers, who were prisoners at Moscow, in the same manner that the King of Sweden had treated the minister of his Czarish Majesty. But the Czar would not consent to a proceeding so barbarous, which

which besides would have been attended with very fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovites prisoners in Sweden than there were Swedes in Muscovy. He resolved on a revenge more advantageous, as well as more honourable, by supporting the party in Poland who stood up for their liberty against the Swedes. Having received a formal notification of the treaty concluded at Alt-Ranstadt, his Majesty was requested to take the republick under his protection. This he had now a good opportunity of doing, while Charles and Stanislaus, with the main body of the Swedish army, lay idle in Saxony; and General Leuwenhaupt, who was left in Poland with about 20,000 men, was unable to guard the passes. Accordingly the Czar re-enters Poland, with about 60,000 men, whom he divided into several bodies, and marches forwards, with a flying camp, till he came to Zolkiew.

His Majesty then wrote to the general of the crown, the primate chosen by Augustus, (for there was at this time another elected by Stanislaus) and the rest of the grandees, to represent to them, "that he concluded an Alliance with the republic, and not in particular with Augustus; and that he was obliged to perform all the articles thereof, and assist the republic with all his force against the Swede, who not being satisfied with having obliged Augustus to abdicate his throne, would impose upon them a King of his own election: that his Majesty would shortly repair to Leopold, to concert measures with the republic; and in the mean time would assist it with such an army, as should enable the Poles to vindicate their independency."

The primate, upon this, held a council with the officers of the crown, in which an assembly was appointed to meet at Leopold. In this assembly the throne was declared vacant; and the Poles were admonished to acknowledge Stanislaus only as palatine of Posenania. The Primate also

*Writes to
the Polish
Grandeers.*

*The throne
of Poland
again de-
clared va-
cant.*

wrote

wrote to the Emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, the Kings of Denmark and Prussia, the States General, the Pope, and other potentates, to acquaint them with the vacancy of the throne. The General of the crown published his universalia, forbidding the forces of the republic to receive any orders either from Augustus or Stanislaus; and promising a reward to the person who should deliver up, dead or alive, M. Smigieski, a gentleman who had till lately been the chief partizan of Augustus, but had now declared for Stanislaus. Several pathetic speeches were made in this assembly, to explain the occasion of their meeting, and represent the state of their country; and the Confederacy of Sendomir was renewed, as the most effectual means to put them in a condition of asserting their liberties.

*The Czar's
embassy to
the Grand
council.*

Prince Dolhorucki, the Czar's ambassador, had a public audience of this grand council, to which he was conducted with the utmost ceremony, and placed between the two chief ministers of the republic. There he delivered a letter from his Czarish Majesty, importing, "That notwithstanding the republic seemed to be reduced to the last extremity, by the retreat of King Augustus, yet they were still in a condition to retrieve their affairs, if they would concur in the measures that should be proposed to them by the Czar, whom no private advantage should separate from their interest: concluding with an exhortation to take vigorous measures against their common enemy, and an assurance that the Czar would restore to the republic such places in the Ukraïn, as formerly belonged to it." The primate, in the name of the republic, "returned the Czar thanks for his affection and friendship, and assured his minister that the council would not separate, till they had taken such resolutions as the distressed condition of their country required."

Poland was now in a fair way of having three Kings, without knowing which she must obey at last. In the interim of these consultations, the Czar, with his son, Prince Menzikoff, and other persons of distinction, arrived at Leopold. He was complimented upon his arrival, and entertained suitably to his dignity. He assisted at their debates, and at the consecration of a new bishop of Cujavia, whom he presented with a crucifix worth 15,000 rix-dollars. After several conferences between his ministers and those of the republic, his Majesty returned to Zolkiew, leaving Prince Dolhorucki behind as his plenipotentiary. And as a report was now spread, that the Czar intended, at the diet of Lubin, which was to be held soon after, to propose his son, the Czarewitz, then 17 years of age, to be King of Poland, his Majesty sent away that Prince to Moscow, to prevent any suspicions of that kind, and ordered 500,000 florins to be paid to the Polish troops, and 300,000 to those of Lithuania.

*He goes
himself to
Leopold.*

The following letter, written by his Czarish Majesty to the great General of the crown, and dated from Zolkiew February 7, 1707, will fully explain his sentiments in regard to the Kingdom of Poland, and the present war.

“ The King of Sweden, having by force and management compassed his designs against King Augustus, seeks with no less cunning to gain his ends of us and the republic, and to render fruitless our good dispositions to maintain the common interest: with this view, his ministers in all foreign courts insinuate, that he is treating of a peace separately with us. We do not deny that formerly, at Strolitza, when several foreign ministers sounded our inclinations towards peace, we intimated, that out of Christian duty, and to spare the effusion of blood, we should be always ready to hearken to all propositions of peace which the King of Sweden should offer; but, on condition that such peace should

*His letter
to the great
general.*

should be negotiated openly, and with the consent and participation of the republic; and concluded by commissioners appointed by all the nations concerned. We never did, or shall entertain any thoughts of treating of peace secretly, by the intervention of any foreign courts; preferring to all interest and advantage, the reputation, honour, and inviolable good faith of a monarch, in the strict observance of all his alliances. We therefore assure your Lordships, that we have not yet entered into any manner of negotiation of peace with Sweden, not, for the future, will enter into any, otherwise than we have already declared, with the consent and participation of the estates of the republic; being absolutely determined to keep inviolably the alliance and guarantee we are engaged in with the republic."

Wyburg besieged.

While these things were transacting in Poland, Narva was strongly fortified, the works went on incessantly at Petersburg, and a fleet was getting ready in the gulph of Finland. The Swedish admiral had already made another attempt, with as little success as before, on the Czar's new city: upon which his Majesty, in order to divert the enemy from molesting his young colony, made a diversion in their own country, before he set out for Poland, and in the depth of winter, laid siege to Wiburg, the capital of Carelia, with 18,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The siege lasted 3 weeks, with great vigour, and 1500 bombs were thrown into the town; but the place being strongly garrisoned, and the sea open behind it, there was no possibility of taking it at this time. These motives however gave the Swedes to understand, that he was not only in a condition to repulse their attacks, but to annoy them when he thought proper: which kept them quiet, and made his Majesty easy with regard to the conquered provinces, during his expedition into Poland, whither

whither he now drew the greatest part of his troops.

While the conferences were held at Leopold, the Czar privately drew from the Emperor, who was now terribly alarmed at the King of Sweden's neighbourhood, a new acquisition of German officers, to whom he gave great encouragement. Also in memory of the battle of Kalish, he gave his own picture set round with diamonds to all the Muscovite generals and colonels, who were concerned in it. The inferior officers had medals of gold, and every common soldier a medal of silver, all struck in his new city of Petersburg, where arts and sciences now advanced in the same proportion as military skill in his army.

The assembly being transferred, at the Czar's desire, from Leopold to Lublin, the throne was again declared vacant, and a Diet called for a third election. * But the change of place did not lessen the disorders and uncertainty that had before reigned among them at Leopold: so that while they owned neither Augustus nor Stanislaus, they could not resolve upon a new election. Mean time the partizans of the two Kings made war upon one another; the Swedes destroyed all that opposed Stanislaus, and the Muscovites all that acknowledged him. The Poles in general, ruined by their own troops, by Swedes, and by Muscovites, equally hated their two Kings, Charles XII. and the Czar.

When the assembly first met at Lublin, his Czarish Majesty made an excursion thither, with a guard of 3000 dragoons, and exhorted them to unanimity in their proceedings: but because his presence should be no obstruction to their freedom of debate, he immediately returned to his army, and from thence wrote again his resolution never to make peace without them, and that in con-

*

Q

junction

junction with them he would give the King of Sweden battle the first opportunity. All this had no effect on that divided people; who, while they courted his assistance, let his Majesty see that he had nothing but his own power to depend

The Czar withdraws into Lithuania, upon which Stanislaus is again acknowledged.

upon. The assembly continued some time sitting, without coming to any resolution: which the Czar observing, he withdrew into Lithuania with the body of his army, leaving only 40,000 horse in Poland, which the King of Sweden was now ready to re-enter. King Stanislaus immediately set out from Alt-Ranstadt, with General Renchild, 16 Swedish regiments, and a great sum of money. The assembly dispersed at his approach, and as the towns in Poland are all open to the first comer, he was acknowledged wherever he passed along. Count Siniauski, grand General of the crown of the nomination of Augustus, a man of great abilities, and much ambition, was the only one who disturbed his government. The troops of the crown, who continued under his command, had scarce any other pay but the liberty of plundering with impunity; and as he could not get to be elected King, which he had much laboured at, he was content to be the head of a third party.

The King of Sweden leaves Saxony.

The King of Sweden took leave of his camp at Alt-Ranstadt in September, 1707, followed by an army of 43,000 men, shining with gold and silver, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Count Leuwenhaupt, one of the best of his Generals, was ready to meet him with 20,000 more. Thus the abdication of Augustus, far from restoring peace in Poland, did but render the condition of that unfortunate people worse than ever. As the Muscovites had lorded it over them all the summer, the Swedes now did the same in their turn.

The Czar had left Poland, and returned thither again, about twenty times during the course of the

the war. The country lying open on all sides, left him at liberty, to appear there as often as he thought proper, and even to advance as far as the King of Sweden. But now, upon that King's appearance with such extraordinary force, the Czar thought fit to withdraw to the frontiers of Russia, and from thence to take a journey to Moscow, where he had not been for two years before. His stay there was short: for having caused the ring-leaders of the rebels, who had been in arms at Astracan and Asoph, to be exemplarily punished, he returned to Minski at the latter end of January 1708, and gave orders for a large body of men to march into Lithuania. Prince Menzikoff, who commanded there, had sent his Majesty frequent intelligence of the progress of the Swedes: and indeed King Charles, tho' he continued in Great Poland longer than he expected, on account of the heavy rains that made the roads impassable, had at last taken the advantage of the first hard frost, and passed the Vistula on the 9th of January over the ice. He was followed by his baggage and artillery: but the ice breaking in some places, several horses and wag-gons were lost. Thence he continued his march into Lithuania, accompanied by the King Stanislaus, and expecting every day to be joined by General Leuwenhaupt. The badness of the weather no more retarded his march: he obliged the Muscovites to abandon Grodno, Tycockzin, Wilna, and several other places, and to retire behind the lines they had made about Minski, where a general rendezvous was appointed.

*The Czar
takes a tour
to Moscow*

*Progress of
the King of
Sweden.*

Notwithstanding the strength of the King of Sweden at this time, the Czar was so much his superior, and had such a number of good officers, that people rightly imagined he did not retreat thus hastily thro' fear, but only to draw the enemy into his own territories, where they must either fight him with great disadvantage, or retire:

thro' a desolate country, which could not afford them any subsistence. The King of Sweden however was not of this opinion, or did not apprehend those fatal consequences from the stratagem, which he soon after experienced. It was enough for Charles that he drove all before him, and that his own troops had the advantage in most of the rencounters that happened.

*The King
of Sweden
in danger.*

* Twice however, during this victorious march, the Swedish hero was in danger of his life, or at least his liberty. The first time was in a forest, whither he had advanced with but a handful of men, amidst whom he was attacked, and almost surrounded by a large body of Muscovites : but another detachment of his troops opportunely came up, and prevented the loss of their King. A second time was in Grodno, whither, notwithstanding his danger, he advanced in the same rash manner before the body of his army, with only 600 of his guards. At the head of these he entered the town, where the Czar then lay with 2000 men, who, ignorant of the enemy's strength, mistaking that small number for the van-guard of his army, thought proper to retire before him. But the Czar learning the same day, from a Polish deserter, to what an inconsiderable body he had abandoned the town, and that the rest of the Swedish army was five leagues behind ; his Majesty sent back a detachment of 1500 horse, to surprise King Charles in the night. The Muscovites advanced to the first guard without being known, and there met with a gallant reception for several minutes from only 30 men. Charles, who lay at the other end of the town, was instantly there with the rest of his 600, and being soon after joined by General Renchild's regiment, he repulsed the Muscovites, and pursued them. Thus, by mere dint of his good fortune, he came off a victor,

tor, where every one expected he must have been a captive.

The Czar, considering that he had neither magazines nor retreat in the palatinate of Minski, thought proper to draw off his whole force to the Nieper, where he might wait for the enemy behind good lines. *The Czar retreats towards the Nieper.*

Wherever the Swedes came, they found the country their own. All seasons had long been equal to both armies, and they both made excessive marches every day, tho' it was now the midst of Winter. The design of the Swedes was to intercept the Muscovites; but the Muscovites were equally expeditious with themselves, who had now no other advantage than the terror of their King's name; and the conduct of Peter was even more than an equivalent to that: for he not only marched off his own army, but prevented the Swedes from following it, and obliged them, for want of forage and other necessities, to stay and encamp about Wilna till the following May. General Baur, who was sent before for that purpose, had laid waste all Livonia, and, by posting his men along the Duna, remained master of that river: and as the Czar suspected the King of Sweden might then turn towards Volhinia, he ordered the inhabitants of that province to destroy the country for thirty miles round, and to retreat beyond the Nieper, where his Majesty would give them other lands to cultivate. Besides this, General Goltz, with 15,000 Russians, and 12,000 Volosques, was ordered to attend the motions of the enemy, and gall them in the flank.

While the Muscovite army lay between Poloczko and Smolensko, and the Swedes were pent up in the midst of Lithuania, King Charles breathed nothing but vengeance against the Czar; declaring, *The King of Sweden threatens the Czar.* "He would never give him peace, till he had obliged him to resign his crown to his son." It was believed that the Czar, at this time, seeing

his people discontented with the long war, especially as it now threatened their own country, would have been pleased to find his enemy less implacable; and some assert, that he was even prevailed on to write a letter to the King of Sweden, to offer him terms; but that the latter sent it back unopened, and told the person who brought it, "That as he hoped shortly to be at Moscow, he would there treat with the Czar by word of mouth." This Prince should have considered, that the success he had in Poland was no argument that he would as easily succeed in Muscovy, where the people have very different notions of the power of sovereign Princes.

*His march
to the Borysthenes.*

* From Grodno to the Borysthenes eastward lies nothing but morasses, deserts, mountains, and vast forests. The King of Sweden provided himself with biscuit for this toilsome march, and after he had passed the forest of Minski, thro' which his men were obliged to hew their way, he found himself on the 25th of June 1708, before the river Berezine, over-against Borislow. General Goltz, with about 12 or 15,000 of the best Russian troops, was encamped in that place, in order to dispute the passage: but the King, getting some regiments on the banks in sight, as if he proposed to attempt it there instantly, amused the Muscovites while he marched his army up three leagues higher, where he threw a bridge over, and then cut a way thro' a body of 3000 Muscovites, who defended that post. General Goltz, hearing the Swedes were coming up, did not stay to receive them, but marched towards the Borysthenes, laying all the country waste as he went along.

*The battle
of Hollow-
zin.*

† A body of horse was detached from the Muscovite army, to stop the enemy at the pass of Ho-

* M. de Voltaire's history, &c.

† Account sent by the Muscovite court to their agent at Amsterdam, and Voltaire's hist.

Holowzin, which was rendered strong by the adjacent morasses and woods, and a little river named Wabitz. Soon after the Muscovites arrived there, the King of Sweden approached, with his whole army, to attack them. Hereupon four parties, one of Field-Marshal Czeremetoff's division of infantry, another of Prince Menzikoff's horse, a third and fourth of Prince Repnin and General Goltz's division, were commanded to post themselves within half a mile of Holowzin. General Allart, with another division of foot, and a brigade of horse under Lieutenant-General Pflug, were ordered to a pass three miles distant, which it was thought the enemy would attack.

At three o'clock in the morning, July 14th, 1708, the Swedes, by favour of the darkness and a hard rain, began to advance against the division of General Repnin, who commanded divers posts, and had begun to make an entrenchment, and a communication by bridges with the other divisions. He had but 5000 troops, upon whom the Swedes fired briskly with their cannon, and endeavoured to break in between them and Marshal Czeremetoff. As this attempt was not expected, there were only some centinels placed in the passage, to give notice of what happened: and Prince Repnin, finding himself unable to stand the attack of the whole Swedish army, retired over pontoons to Czeremetoff's division, in pretty good order. General Goltz joined the Field-Marshal-General about the same time. The Swedish cavalry charged these three united divisions, who sustained their shock about four hours, and did considerable execution. But the ground was so narrow, that the Muscovite cavalry could not second each other, and push the enemy with sufficient vigour: so that the victory fell to the Swedes. The King pursued the Muscovites into the adjacent woods, and there halted, and cast up an entrenchment. The Muscovites lost a Major-

major-general, about 2000 inferior officers and soldiers, and 10 pieces of cannon. The Swedes also lost a major-General, and almost an equal number of soldiers.

Of all the battles the King of Sweden ever fought, he was in this exposed to the most danger, and shewed the greatest abilities. The fire was so terrible for an hour and an half, that some officers, who had been in several battles, confessed they never saw the like. The King was on horseback at the beginning of the action; but Captain Gullensteirn, a young Swedish officer, whom he respected, being wounded, his Majesty gave him his horse, and fought, during the rest of the action, at the head of his foot guards, exposing his person to the greatest danger. After the battle, the Muscovites repassed the Borysthene, and joined their main army in the entrenched camp. Here the Czar arrived in about two days more, having been detained at Smolensko, for some time past, by a fit of sickness; and from this hour he never left his army again, unless in one short excursion to Veronitz, till he entirely defeated the Swedes at Pultowa.

The Czar arrives at his camp.

Mohilow, Bychow, Copitz, and some other posts along the Nieper, being abandoned by the Muscovites, fell into the hands of the King of Sweden, who found a plenty of every thing in this country. The Czar retreated towards the province of Smolensko, in which lies the great road from Poland to Moscow; and the King of Sweden marched so close after him, that frequent skirmishes happened between the rear-guard of the Muscovites and the van-guard of the Swedes. Tho' the latter had generally the advantage, they did but weaken themselves even by conquering: for those actions were never decisive, and the Swedes could receive no re-inforcements, as the Muscovites frequently did.

* Among the exploits in this march, the King of Sweden, with only six regiments of horse, and 4000 foot, attacked 10,000 horse and 6000 Kalmucks near Smolensko; broke their ranks on the first onset, at the head of his Ostrogothic regiment, and advanced upon them so far, through rough hollow ways, that he found himself in the utmost danger. The Kalmucks who had lain concealed, broke in between the King's regiment and the rest of the Swedish army. In a moment the regiment was surrounded, and the King's horse being shot, he was obliged to fight on foot, encircled by a few of his officers. So many of these were instantly taken and slain, that at last only five were left near his person. It is said he killed above a dozen of the enemy with his own hand; but, quite spent with fatigue, must have surrendered or fallen, had not Colonel Dardof, with inexpressible bravery, forced his way thro' the Kalmucks with a single company, and brought his Majesty off. The rest of the Tartars were cut in pieces by the Swedes, and Charles, whose good fortune had never yet left him, mounted a fresh horse, and pursued the Muscovite cavalry two leagues.

*An action
near Smo-
lensko.*

*The King
of Sweden
in danger.*

Never was more action in any one campaign than in this, not a week passing without some considerable skirmish. Within a few days of that now related, there happened another, in which the Muscovites had the advantage. † The army of the Czar being encamped near the rivulet Bela-napata, and the Swedish army at the distance of but one league, near a place called Malaticze, and covered by the advantage of marshy ground on the side of the rivulet Czar-napata, the Swedes resolved to take post on this rivulet, the passage of which they expected to have dis-

*The action
of Czar-
napata.*

puted

* Voltaire's Hist.

† From the Relation published by Authority.

puted with them. For this purpose the King of Sweden detached four regiments of foot, and one of cuirassiers, consisting in all of 5000 men, the best in his whole army, under the command of General Rosen. Those regiments advancing to the rivulet, to facilitate the passage of the whole army, the Czar ordered Prince Galliczin to march against them with 8 battalions, and 13 squadrons of Prince Menzikoff's horse. As the way was full of difficult morasses, the cavalry were obliged to dismount; and tho' they threw a great number of fascines into the most boggy places, some of the soldiers sunk in up to the breast. The Prince, notwithstanding, continued his march, and at five in the morning, on the 9th of September, passed the rivulet at the head of his troops, and by favour of a thick mist approached the enemy. Having viewed their situation, he ordered them to be instantly attacked, which they accordingly were with a terrible discharge. The Swedes received the fire with great firmness, and the action was very obstinate on both sides. At last, astonished at the intrepidity of the Muscovites, whom they found to be their equals in the art of war, the Swedes began to give way, and were exposed to a continual slaughter for two hours together, in which all the five regiments were entirely ruined. Prince Galliczin signalized himself in this engagement, and by appearing every where among the thickest of the foes, contributed not a little to the victory. The Muscovites lost about 600 men, and had 1000 wounded. They took five colours, two standards, and a very considerable booty. After the action was over, the Czar, to testify his satisfaction with the Prince's conduct, conferred on him the order of St. Andrew.

The King of Sweden marches towards the Ukrain.

Charles, after this action, made a review of his whole army, and taking an account of their provisions, found he had not a sufficiency for 15 days. There was no possibility of getting more

in the country where he was, and the Muscovites had besides made all the roads impassable. This obliged him to turn to the right from the high road of Smolensko, toward the Ukrain, or country of the Cossacks, which the Muscovites also took care to lay desolate. * He met with another blow near Lodzin, by Major-General Mikulsh, on the 17th of September. Then, after a counter-march for two days, he passed the river Soza at Czernikow, and advanced towards the Ukrain as far as Poczop.

His army being by this means fatigued, in greater want than ever of all things necessary for the support of life, and at a great distance from the body under Leuwenhaupt, (who was to bring them 7000 waggons loaded with all sorts of provisions and ammunition, which he had collected in Livonia and Courland), he was obliged to wait for the succours with which they had so long flattered themselves. Leuwenhaupt, that he might obey the orders, and supply the pressing necessities of his master, hastened his march as much as possible, and passed the Borysthenes at Sklow.

*The King
of Sweden
in distress.*

His Czarish Majesty, who had made all imaginable dispositions to break the enemy's measures, gave orders to the Field-Marshal Czeremetoff, and to the Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Goltz, to harraßs, the most they could, the king of Sweden; while he himself would endeavour to engage Leuwenhaupt, with a body of 10 regiments of horse and six battalions of foot. His Majesty had sight of the enemy the 8th of October, on the banks of the little river Pronia; and the enemy made as if they would oppose his passage; but no sooner were seven field-pieces brought up to cannonade them, than they struck off towards the village of Lezno.

*The Czar
comes up
with Ge-
neral Leu-
wenhaupt.*

To-

* Relation of the battle of Lezno, sent to M. de Matusof, the Russian ambassador in Holland. See the historical and political Mercury for 1708.

Towards the evening his Czarish Majesty gave orders to his generals to hold themselves ready to march the next day, in order to attack the enemy. About four in the morning the army began to march, and about nine, at some distance from Lezno, met the enemy, who had sent before some parties for intelligence.

Leuwenhaupt was no sooner informed of the Muscovites march and approach, than he drew up his army in order of battle, and made all possible dispositions to give them a good reception. To that end he caused two battalions to advance 1000 paces before his camp, to dispute their passage through a small morass, by which they were obliged to come at him.

*The battle
of Lezno.*

Upon this, his Majesty ordered Prince Menzikoff to command Colonel Campbel, who had the van-guard, to cause his regiment of dragoons to dismount and attack the enemy's two battalions; who made so quick a fire upon the Muscovites, that they had hardly time to form themselves into order of battle. Colonel Campbel, observing how active the enemy were, caused five squadrons, who had dismounted, to advance, that he might give opportunity to the rest of his troops to put themselves into a posture to follow them; and these dismounted dragoons having stood the enemy's fire for some time, his Czarish Majesty caused them to be supported by four battalions of his guards, and two of Ingermanland. The Muscovites, pouring in their shot upon the two battalions, killed above half of them, gained the passage, and so facilitated their drawing up in battalia before the enemy's front.

General Leuwenhaupt, perceiving his van-guard was beaten, resolved to prevent the Muscovites, and caused his army to move up to meet them in battalia. Then his Czarish Majesty, observing that the enemies line extended wider than his, ordered Prince Menzikoff to cause 4 regiments of dragoons to alight; and they were immediately placed

placed on the left wing, with two regiments of horse to cover their flank, under the command of general Pflug. The right was commanded by the Princes of Galliczin and Darmstadt, whose flank was covered by two regiments of dragoons of Prince Menzikoff's guards. All these dispositions being made by about 11 o'clock, the signal for attacking the Swedes was given by a general discharge of all the artillery. The Swedes began to advance with great fierceness and resolution; and the fight being hot and obstinate on both sides for above an hour and an half, the victory hung in suspense. During the terrible fire which was made every where, his Czarish Majesty appeared in the places of most danger, to animate, by his valour and presence, all the officers and soldiers; and observing that the left wing suffered much, he caused it to be reinforced by Prince Menzikoff's regiment of guards.

The Swedes, observing how well the Muscovites acquitted themselves under the eye of their august monarch, began to give ground, yet drew off in order of battle. Then the Muscovites redoubled their efforts, to improve that advantage: and the enemy being driven back to their waggon and baggage, action was for some time forborn on both sides. About three o'clock the Czar's cannon coming up, began to play again: and his Majesty being informed that General Baur was within half a league of him, with 4000 men, thought fit to wait a little for his arrival.

About four o'clock General Baur came up with *General* his body, and was obliged to endure the fire of *Baur* the enemy's artillery before he could join the *comes up.* right wing, where he was to post himself. From this junction his Czarish Majesty began to entertain hopes that all would end well; and ordered that neither the right nor the left should renew the fight one without the other: but the left wing *R.* having

having stood a good while without attacking, the impatience of all the officers and soldiers superseded that order. The right wing renewed the attack likewise with the utmost vigour.

The Swedes seeing themselves repulsed, caused two battalions and ten squadrons of their reserve to advance, and charge the Muscovites right in flank; but they were so well received, and afterwards so closely pursued, that of the two battalions, not above fifty men escaped. Upon this advantage, the left and center of the Czar's army pushed forwards among the enemy's waggons, breaking all their left wing. On their right Leuwenhaupt rallying his troops, faced the Russians who were among the waggons, and caused such a fire to be made on the battalions and squadrons, as obliged them to retire. But the center and left wing advanced at the same time against the Swedes, who were obliged to face to the right about to make head against them. The charge was renewed with greater fury than before, both by the horse and foot; and their fire, which the Swedes answered duly, did not cease till it was dark night, when neither party could any longer distinguish their own men from their enemies.

In the night, his Czarish Majesty considering the difficulty of dislodging the enemy from behind their waggons, forbade the officers, on pain of being cashiered, and the soldiers of being hanged, to quit their ranks to rifle the dead: so the army kept all night under arms, watching the enemy. In the mean time the trophies of the day were presented to his Majesty, consisting of 47 colours, and Standards; and 16 cannon, which they had gained, were added to their train of artillery.

Thus the Russians passed the night, which was very cold; and towards the morning they saw the enemy kindle fires about their waggons. His
Czarish

Czarish Majesty ordered that fires should be also made in the front of his right line, and that his men should hold themselves in readiness against day-break : which being come, they marched towards the enemies waggons, expecting to meet no less resistance than before : but they found that *Leuwen-* Leuwenhaupt had made use of that stratagem to *haupt re-* cover his flight, abandoning to their discretion *treats.* all his wounded, and 7000 waggons, designed to supply the want under which the army of the King his master laboured.

General Pflug was immediately ordered, with 1000 grenadiers on horseback, and 2000 dragoons, to pursue and harrafs the flying enemy. He had not marched above half a league, when he found the remains of the enemy in a wood; and falling upon them, he made a slaughter among them for the space of a league and an half, to Pro-poisk, where the rest of them, to the number of 3000, retired into the Church-yard.

General Pflug advancing to force them, they made a signal that they were desirous to capitulate; and he sent a lieutenant-colonel, with 6 grenadiers, to receive their offers of capitulation: but most of the Swedish soldiers, being drunk with brandy, would not agree to their officers propositions, and many of them firing, killed two of the Muscovite grenadiers. The lieutenant-colonel seeing their headiness, retired, and General Pflug resolved not to spare them. His grenadiers and dragoons entered the Church-yard, and, sword in hand, killed all that resisted. During this execution, part of them fled towards the river Soza. General Mikusch pursued that party two hours, and saw Count Leuwenhaupt swimming through that river among his men; whereupon he swam it with his detachment, and coming to the other side, most of the Swedish officers begged mercy. The General gave them quarter, but caused the soldiers to be put to the

sword. He then rejoined General Pflug with all the officers and booty.

*Loss in this
action.*

The next day his Majesty caused thanks to be solemnly returned to the Almighty for this signal victory, which cost the enemy almost 20 regiments, amounting in all to 16000 men, and among them Major-General Stackelbergh, who was killed in the field of battle, with most of the officers who were not taken. His Majesty had 2673 prisoners, 103 officers, 47 colours, 10 standards, 16 cannon, 7000 waggons, and all the arms and baggage, the victory being complete. On his side were lost 70 officers killed or dangerously wounded, 1277 soldiers killed, 2734 wounded, and among them his Highness the Prince of Darmstadt, General Baur, Colonel Weiden, and two Muscovite colonels.

Bravery of his Majesty. In the beginning of this battle, his Czarish Majesty, seeing himself in some danger of being defeated, ran to the rear-guard, where the Cossacks and Kalmucks were posted, and commanded them

to fire upon every man that ran away, even upon himself, if he should prove so cowardly. And this victory was the more glorious to his Majesty, because, as he declares himself in his circular letter, not 10,000 of his men were engaged in the action: which entirely destroys M. de Voltaire's assertion, in his History of Charles XII. that the Czar lost above 20,000 soldiers. As for General Leuwenhaupt, he did indeed escape to his master's camp, but without either provisions or an army, which did but heighten the distress of that now unfortunate monarch.

But tho' fortune had begun to thwart the measures, she had not yet broke the Spirit of the King of Sweden. He expected to be re-inforced from two other quarters, from Poland by King Stanislaus, and the Palatine of Riow, and from the Ukraïn by General Mazeppa, who had revolted from his allegiance to the Czar. I promised before some

farther account of this commander, which I shall here introduce.

Ukrania, one of the most fertile countries in the universe, (tho' the Southern part of it be uncultivated and desert, thro' its calamitous situation) has always aspired to be free; but being surrounded by the dominions of the Grand Seignor and Poland, it has ever been at a loss for a protector in one of these three estates. It has been successively under the Poles and Muscovites, the latter of whom at last assumed the right of nominating their general, or Hetman, which is the name they give their Prince. Upon the deposition of * Samuelerrick, Mazzepa, a Polish gentleman, born in the Palatinate of Podolia, was elected. He had received some tincture of polite learning at the court of John Casimir, to whom he had been page. But an intrigue being discovered between him and the lady of a Polish nobleman, the husband caused him to be whipped, and then sent to seek his fortune, tied upon the back of a wild horse. As the beast had been brought out of Ukrania, he fled thither with Mazeppa, who was half dead with hunger and fatigue. He was relieved by some of the country people, among whom he continued a long time, and signalized himself in several excursions against the Tartars, their Southern enemies. But the superiority of his understanding made him soon become considerable, and his encreasing reputation induced the Court of Russia to chuse him Hetman.

Mazeppa, while a Prince, did not lose the reputation he had before acquired. He signalized himself on many occasions in his master's service, especially in the present war against the Swedes: but upon some disgust, the occasion of which is

R 3

vari-

* Histoire de Charles XII.

† See p. 52.

*He revolts
to the
King of
Sweden.*

variously related, he thought that by embracing the part of the enemy, he had an opportunity of rendering himself independent; and did not doubt but he should bring the greatest part of the Cossacks into his sentiments. He was to meet the King of Sweden near the river Desna, with 30,000 men, all properly accoutred and provided. It was chiefly for this reason that Charles directed his march towards the Ukrain, and ordered Leuvenhaupt to join him there, to the astonishment of all his officers, who were not in the secret.

General Leuvenhaupt had, with him, before his defeat, 600,000 Rix-dollars in money, 6000 barrels of powder, 500 tons of musket-bullets, and 20,000 small arms: which latter were to arm such of the revolting Cossacks, as might not be able to furnish themselves. The disaster of that General deprived the King of Sweden of all these supplies, and the timely discovery of Mazeppa's plot prevented him from keeping his promise, and kept the Cossacks to their allegiance, notwithstanding the defection of their commander; who appeared at last rather as a fugitive than an Ally, followed by only, 6000 men.

*Battarin
taken.*

The Hetman, finding his subjects not so complying as he expected, had endeavoured all in his power to intercept any provisions from being brought to the Czar, and to harraßs the country. To punish this treachery, Prince Menzikoff was sent with 24,000 foot and 6000 horse, to the east-side of the Ukrain; where having received the submission of the greatest part of the Cossacks, he advanced to Battarin, Mazeppa's capital, which the Hetman had fortified, foreseeing what would happen, and garrisoned with 6000 resolute soldiers, furnished with every thing necessary for a defence. There was only the river Desna, which had no bridge, between this town and the Swedish army: Yet the Prince came fairly up, and attacked it in form, while the Swedes in a manner looked on.

In two days time he raised three batteries, and fired so furiously, that in one night and a day, he made a tolerable breach, which he ordered to be immediately stormed. The garrison defended themselves with much obstinacy, and killed the besiegers by heaps in the ditch. But the Russians, animated by their general, fell on again with such fury, that they entered the town sword in hand, and cut all the Cossacks in pieces. This execution effectually awed the rest of the nation, and obliged their chief to fly in the manner we have related.

* After the reduction of Batturin, his Swedish Majesty retired between Starodub and Czernikow, to a very advantageous camp, which he caused to be intrenched, that his troops might not be surprized by the detachments from the Muscovite army, which gave them continual alarms. Of the few Cossacks who revolted with Mazeppa, several came back to their allegiance, on the encouragement of a general pardon, which his Czarish Majesty caused to be published for all those who within four weeks should quit the Swedish service, and a promise that they should be restored to their honours and offices. His Majesty also caused a proclamation to be issued, promising a reward to those who should bring in General Mazeppa alive or dead.

On his Majesty's arrival at the head quarters of the Cossacks, he caused the sentence pronounced by a council of war against Mazeppa to be executed, in the presence of Prince Menzikoff, and Count Golofkin, both knights of the order of St. Andrew. A herald tore the traitor's patent of knighthood, and threw the pieces on the ground; took from off a wooden statue, made for the occasion, the blue ribbon and medal of the order, and then threw down the statue. The hangman came next,

*Mazeppa
degraded
and execut-
ed in effigy.*

next, tied a halter about the neck of the statue, and dragged it to the place of execution; where the sentence against him was read aloud; and he thereby declared to be fallen from his honours, titles and dignities, and to be condemned to be hanged. The hangman tore in pieces the arms of his family, broke his scymitar, and hung the statue on the gibbet; a great multitude of people attending. This done, the principal men of the Cossacks repaired to the great church; and after divine service, they assembled in the church-yard, and proceeded to the election of a new General; which fell upon M. Skoropacky, who was declared with the acclamations of the assembly; and a triple discharge of artillery and muskets was made by the Cossacks, who were drawn up in order. The new General, accompanied by a great number of officers, went immediately and prostrated himself at the feet of his Czarish Majesty, who confirmed his election.

The communication cut off between the Swedes and Poland.

All this while there continued to be frequent rencounters between parties of the two armies; with various successes; tho' the Swedes in fact were always sufferers, as they could not repair any of their losses. Neither King Stanislaus, nor the Palatine of Kiow, with all their art, was able to bring them the least succour; such effectual means did the Czar take to prevent the junction of the enemies forces; as well by the army in Poland under General Goltz, as by the detachments perpetually sent from his main army at Smolensko. But what more than all gave the Russians the advantage, was, they had plenty of every thing in their camp; whereas, on the contrary, the Swedes suffered by want of provisions, which, with the extreme cold, induced many of them to desert to the Muscovite army. In one of these actions, about this time, between Prilack and Haydicks, 6000 Swedes were defeated, and a great number of them taken prisoners.

The

The Muscovites so well secured the passes, that no letters could now come from the Swedish camp, not even to King Stanislaus, who was very impatient to have a true account of their condition.

It is impossible to describe the wretched state of the Swedish hero, at this time, more sensibly, *Distress of the Swedish army.* than his own historian, M. de Voltaire, has done it. "The memorable Winter of 1708-9, which was still more terrible in those frontiers of Europe than with us, carried off part of his army. Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies, and ventured to make long marches with his troops during the excessive severity of the weather. In one of these marches 2000 of his men were frozen to death almost before his eyes. The horsemen had no boots, and the foot were without shoes, and almost without clothes. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of beasts, in the best manner they could. They often wanted bread. They were obliged to throw the greatest part of their cannon into quagmires and rivers, for want of horses to draw them along. So that this once flourishing army was reduced to 24,000 men, ready to perish for hunger. They neither received any news from Sweden, nor could send any thither. In this condition only one officer complained. *How, says the King, are you uneasy that you are so far from your wife? If you are a true soldier, I will carry you to that distance, that you shall scarce hear from Sweden in three years.*

A soldier, in presence of the whole army, ventured with a murmur to present him with a piece of bread, that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, the only food they then had, and of that not a sufficiency. The King received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, *It is not good, but it may be eaten.* This little turn, if

if any thing may be called little which serves to increase respect and confidence, contributed more than all the rest to support the Swedish army under extremities, which would have been intolerable under any other General."

Yet, resolute as the King of Sweden was, the cold at last obliged him to a suspension of arms. In the month of February he renewed hostilities, and soon found his little army yet more reduced. The 18,000 Swedes that were left must even now have perished, had not Mazzepa, notwithstanding some conditions said to be offered him by the Czar, continued faithful to his new ally, and procured a subsistence for him and his troops. Charles did not yet despair, with his 18,000 Swedes, and as many Cossacks, of penetrating as far as Moscow; and with that view, towards the end of May went and laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Vorlat, on the East of Ukrania; which if he could take, a passage would be open at least into a land of plenty.

*K. Charles
lays siege
to Pultowa*

* Mazeppa, who had correspondence in the town, was confident the King would soon be master of it: but Charles perceived, from the first, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. Prince Menzikoff, notwithstanding his precaution, threw fresh troops into the town, which increased the garrison to almost 10,000 men. The advanced works were however carried, and two attacks had been given to the body of the place, when the King, having rode a little too near, received a shot from a carbine, which shattered the bone of his heel. He continued afterwards on horseback for near six hours, and gave his orders with such composure, that no man suspected he was wounded. At last one of his domesticks perceived his boot was bloody, and the King's pain at the same time grew so violent, that they were forced

forced to carry him into his tent, where he held his own leg while the surgeon made his incisions. As they were laying on the dressings, he gave orders for an assault the next morning; but was immediately obliged to alter that resolution, upon the news being brought him that the Czar appeared with an army of 70,000 men. In this situation, and incapable as he was of acting himself, he sent for Marshal Renschild into his tent, on the 26th of June O. S. at night, and without calling any council, commanded him to attack the Czar the next morning. Renschild knew his master's temper, and did not dispute his will.

The Czar appears with his army.

It was on the 27th of June 1709, that the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought, between the two most famous monarchs then in the world; Charles XII. illustrious by a course of nine years victories, flattered with the title of Invincible, which one unhappy moment might deprive him of; and Peter Alexiowitz, no less illustrious by nine years fatigue, honoured by the nations round him with the surname of Great, of which no defeat could deprive him, as no victory bestowed it on him. An action of this importance deserves peculiar regard, even in a work where brevity is studied; and therefore I shall give all the circumstances of it, as they were published by authority.

* The Muscovites having passed the river Vorlat with their whole army the 20th of June, they encamped within a league of the enemy till the 24th. That day they advanced within a quarter of a league of the enemy's army, and encamping, caused an entrenchment to be thrown up before their camp, to prevent all surprise. Their cavalry was posted in the woods, covered by redoubts furnished with cannon; and tho' the Czar gave out orders for preparing to attack the enemy, they pre-

Is attacked prevented them, according to their usual temerity.
by the On the 27th, early in the morning, while it was
Swedes. yet dark, the Swedes came out of the defiles,

where they had lain all night on their arms, and attacked the Russian cavalry with their horse and foot so vigorously, that notwithstanding they were repulsed several times, and beaten off with great loss from the redoubts which they assaulted, the cavalry, who could not be assisted in time by their infantry, were obliged to retire towards their entrenchment; but soon returned to the charge, entirely defeated the enemy's right wing, and took prisoner General Schlippenbach who commanded it.

While this was doing, the Czar detached Prince Menzikoff, General in chief, and Lieutenant-General Rentzel, with some horse and foot towards Pultowa; as well to cut off the troops who were advancing to the assistance of the enemy, as to attack those left in the trenches under General Rosen, and so to relieve the town from the blockade. The Prince marching accordingly, met in his way the enemy's body of reserve of 3000 men, whose right wing was flanked by wood: after some resistance, he broke them, put some to the sword, gave quarter to the rest, and returned to the main army, leaving Lieutenant-General Rentzel to proceed on to Pultowa; at whose approach, General Rosen retired with his regiments into the works they had made. However Rentzel attacked him, and forced him, after some resistance, to surrender with all his men at discretion.

On the other hand, the Swedish horse having in retiring joined their foot, all their army drew up in order of battle against the Russians front, at the distance of about a quarter of a league. The Czar, at the same time, caused two lines to move out of the entrenchment, leaving the third to guard the camp; and drew up his army in such a manner, that his infantry made the main body,

dy, and the cavalry the two wings. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-General Baur, in the room of Lieutenant-General Renne, who was wounded in the first engagement. The left was led by Prince Menzikoff, and the main body by the Czar in person: the Field-Marshal Czeremetoff, the generals of foot Prince Repnin and M. Hallard, as also Lieutenant-General Belling, attending each at his post. Lieutenant-General Brous had the direction of the artillery.

The general action.

The Russian army, being in this posture, no sooner began to move towards the enemy, than, contrary to expectation, the latter had the courage, after the repulse they had received, to advance to meet them. About seven in the morning the fight began, and the fire grew thick on both sides; which the Russians continued with such bravery, that they defeated and broke the enemy after a battle of half an hour, and put both their horse and foot to the rout. The latter, not daring to halt, or make further opposition, were driven like a herd of cattle, with sword, bayonet, and pike, quite to the woods. Major-General Stackelbergh was the first prisoner taken; then General Hamilton, Field-Marshal Renschild, the Prince of Wirtemberg, cousin to the King of Sweden, many colonels and subaltern officers, and some thousands of horse and foot, a great number of which yielded themselves voluntarily with their horses and arms.

The Russian cavalry pursued the enemy's full speed, about half a league: so that the plains and woods, for three leagues round Pultowa, were strewed with the enemy's bodies; the number of their killed being 8 or 10,000. It is worthy of remark in this action, that it was only a line of foot of ten thousand men who defeated the enemy, the other line not being engaged. And when the Swedish foot advanced, the Muscovites gave them but one fire, after which

*

S

they

they charged sword in hand, and broke in upon the Swedes line of battle with such fury, that they were immediately disordered, and began to retire. The Czar was very active during the whole dispute, and rid down four horses while it lasted. His Majesty received a shot in his hand. The engagement was wholly ended about eight in the morning.

The Czar's conversation with Renchild after the battle.

The generals who were prisoners dined with his Majesty, and were used with great generosity. His Majesty discoursed upon the change of affairs, addressing himself particularly to General Renchild, and enquired into the real number of the Swedish troops. He was answered, "That his Majesty of Sweden had only an exact knowledge of his forces, and never communicated further to his officers than was exactly necessary for their obedience, and the execution of his orders; but he believed the army consisted at the beginning of the engagement of 30,000 men, 19,000 of whom were regular troops, and the rest Cossacks." The Czar observed to him, "That he thought that a small force to march so far into an enemy's country." The general said, "His duty was only to obey." Upon which, his Majesty took off his own sword, and gave it to the general, desiring him to wear it as a testimony of the esteem he had for so good a servant to his Prince.

K. Charles's behaviour and escape.

It was not at first known what was become of the King of Sweden. The litter he made use of on account of the wound in his foot, was found broken to pieces, and General Renchild was full of apprehension for his Majesty. That Prince had endeavoured to sit his horse at the head of his troops, but found it impossible; and when he was taken out of his shattered litter, all covered with blood, and carried upon pikes by four grenadiers, he cried out, Swedes! Swedes! in hopes to rally some of his regiments. His Majesty escaped almost to a miracle, in count Piper's coach, (having

ing none of his own since he left Stockholm) and got into Turkey, where we shall have frequent occasion to visit him.

Prince Galliczin, with the regiments of Ingermerland and Astracan, and foot-soldiers mounted behind each trooper, and Lieutenant-General Baur, with ten regiments of horse, were immediately dispatched in pursuit of the flying enemy. Count Piper seeing no way to escape, as also some secretaries of the chancery, came voluntarily to Pultowa, and yielded themselves prisoners. The next day Prince Menzikoff went after the Swedes, and was followed by some regiments of foot. Those who were detached to bury the dead, reported, that they counted above 8000 bodies of the enemy on the field of battle; besides those who fell in the pursuit whom they buried in several places. The Swedes abandoned above 3000 waggons, which fell into the hands of the Russians. The prisoners taken, in the fight and pursuit, were in all 2978. The trophies were, 14 standards of horse, 29 of dragoons, 93 colours, of which six were of the regiment of guards, in all 137 standards and colours: cannon only four pieces, because the enemy brought no more into the action: one pair of kettle-drums of silver, belonging to the regiment of guards, and three pair of copper.

*Account of
the slain,
prisoners,
and booty.*

Prince Menzikoff, who marched the 28th, could not overtake the Swedes till the 30th, notwithstanding all the expedition he made; for they retired precipitately, leaving behind them the greatest part of their baggage. That day his Highness discovered them, posted very advantageously near the small town of Perewoloczna, at the foot of a mountain on the bank of the Borysthene; and was informed by the quarter-master of a regiment, and some Walachians, who were taken prisoners, that the King of Sweden had passed the Borysthene by swimming, with the Majors-General Sparr and

Lagercroon, and 300 of the best mounted troopers, about three hours before; and had left on this side the remains of his army, under the command of General Leuwenhaupt. Whereupon, without loss of time, his Highness caused his body of men, which did not exceed 9000, to advance against the enemy. And the prisoners having added, that they believed they might be disposed to surrender themselves on terms of capitulation, his Highness summoned them to yield, intimating to them that they were deprived of all means of escaping by a retreat, and that if they rejected his offer, they were not to hope for quarter, but should all be put to the sword.

*The rest of
the Swe-
dish army
capitulates
and sur-
renders.*

Hereupon, the enemy sent Major-General Creutz, Colonel Ducker, Lieutenant-Colonel Trautsetter, and Adjutant-General Count Douglass, to capitulate; and an agreement was presently made, signed afterwards by Prince Menzikoff and General Leuwenhaupt, pursuant to which the enemy, who, contrary to all expectation, were yet 16287 men strong, well armed, and mostly horse, yielded themselves prisoners of war, and laid down their arms; surrendering that day to Lieutenant-General Baur, together with the camp chest or treasure, the military chancery, all the colours, standards, kettle-drums, and drums. Thus all their enemy's army were subdued by, or submitted to, the victorious arms of his Czarish Majesty, some few hundreds excepted, who escaped with their King: in pursuit of whom several thousand horse were also sent, who overtook, and cut to pieces 200 of his chosen band, and sent back about 100 prisoners. His Czarish Majesty came up in person, and joined Prince Menzikoff, just at the time when the Swedes laid down their arms.

*Articles of
capitulati-
on.*

By the capitulation, I. All the Swedish troops, without exception, commanded by Count Leuwenhaupt, as well generals and officers as soldiers, were with their servants to yield themselves priso-

ners

ners of war to his Czarish Majesty. II. All private soldiers, troopers, dragoons, and musketeers, were to lay down their arms, and to remain prisoners of war till their exchange or ransom; but to keep their mounting, and all that they had, except their arms and ammunition: and all their horses, except those belonging to the officers, were delivered to his Czarish Majesty. III. All the generals, and other officers, were to keep their baggage and equipages, and their persons were to be released without ransom or exchange, as soon as peace was made between his Czarish Majesty and the King of Sweden. In the mean time, they should be honourably used, and permitted to go, for a while, to their own country, on their parole. IV. The Swedish artillery, all the ammunition, colours, standards, and the instruments of musick, should be delivered to his Czarish Majesty; as likewise the military chest of the King of Sweden. V. The Zaporogians, and other rebels, now among the troops of Sweden, were to be immediately surrendered to his Czarish Majesty.

The total of prisoners taken by this capitulation, were 16,287 persons, besides Charles Guntser, chamberlain, Sirchigel, apothecary to the household and army, Schimbers, quarter-master, Asil, Bier, and Brampt, commissaries; 5 purveyors, and other servants of the King's household. The trophies were, colours and standards, 142; brass cannon, four five pounders, one of five pound and a half, twelve of three pound, three Russian pieces of three pound, taken by the enemy at Wesprick: two hauwitzers of sixteen; two or three mortars of six, and four of three, with two iron cannon of three pound. The killed and wounded on the part of the Russians, in this great action, according to the printed list, were only 4636.

Men and trophies surrendered.

*The Czar
notifies his
victory.*

The first care of the Czar was to acquaint the Emperor, the King of Prussia, King Augustus, and the States, with the great success of his arms; and he dispatched likewise a captain of his guards to the Duke of Marlborough. The sieur Matueof, his ambassador at the Hague, having received the orders of his master, notified the defeat of the Swedes to the States General, by way of memorial, which he delivered to the president of the assembly, August 28. That minister also made a most magnificent entertainment on the occasion, which lasted three days, as the victory had done, from the beginning to General Leuvenhaupt's surrender.

*The King
of Sweden
in Turkey.*

The King of Sweden having passed the Borysthene, continued his retreat, with all imaginable speed, towards Tartary, and made no stay till he came to Oczacow, the chief city of the Tartars of that name, not far from the Black sea. He was very well received by the Bashaw, and thought fit to continue there till he was cured of the wound he had received at the siege of Pultowa. He writ from thence to his mother, the regency of Sweden, and some of his ministers abroad, that he hoped to be well in a few days, and to join, by the way of Podolia, his forces under General Craffau.

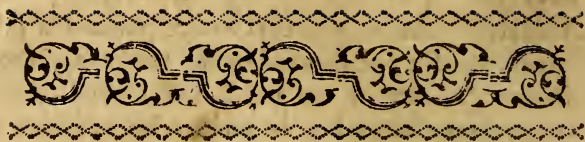
*Augustus
re-enters
Poland.*

King Augustus having received advice of the defeat of the Swedish army, did not think fit to defer his departure for Poland, which he had before concerted; and on the 24th of June passed the Oder, directing his march towards Cracow. Several Senators, and other persons of note, immediately declared for that Prince, and abandoned King Stanislaus, who knew not which way to retire.

Thus did Providence baffle, in an instant, the great designs of the King of Sweden, and shew, by this terrible instance, "That moderation is a virtue no less necessary in Princes than in their sub-

subjects." As long as that Prince pursued a just satisfaction for the invasion of his territories, Providence led him by the hand, and blessed all his enterprizes; but when he carried his resentment beyond natural bounds, his affairs had immediately another aspect, and he soon stood reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK VI.

*From the King of Sweden's Retreat into Turkey,
to the Czar's Triumph for his naval Victory o-
ver Admiral Ehrenschild.*

*Reflections
on the bat-
tle of Pul-
towa.*

BEFORE we proceed in our history, let us reflect a little more particularly on that extraordinary event, which has been related at the end of the foregoing book. The two monarchs of Russia and Sweden had been nine years at war, and every thing seemed to promise a happy conclusion to the latter. Fortune looked as if she had entered into a covenant with that hero, and abandoned

abandoned her character of inconstancy in his favour. By the authority of his arms, he had constrained a free people, under the form of an election, to receive a new sovereign from his hands: he had obliged the lawful Prince to descend his throne, and fly to the succour of his hereditary estates, already exposed to pillage and desolation. He was now marching against enemies whom his people despised, and without regarding their number, thought only of sacrificing to the resentment of their Prince. In these circumstances the King of Sweden undertook to advance to Moscow, and there dethrone the reigning Emperor.

What shall we think of such an ambition, so seemingly disinterested? the most celebrated conquerors, before Charles, far from content with immortalizing their names, joined advantage to glory, and were not so fond of an historical life, as to neglect the increase of their own power. But the King of Sweden pretended to a system more refined. Does he think himself unjustly attacked by his enemies? his resentment instantly becomes personal, and he declares an irréconcilable enmity, till he has deposed the aggressors. To dethrone monarchs, to give them successors, to dispose of crowns at his pleasure, this was the whole of the King of Sweden's heroism. Without examining such a conduct by the precepts of religion, or the laws of nations, we might have asked his Swedish Majesty, supposing he had infringed a treaty, would he have allowed himself liable to be dethroned with justice? would he not have said, "It belongs only to God to chastise princes, and deprive them of their dignity?" let us apply this maxim to himself, and add to it, that to lay waste a nation in order to oblige them to change their master, is neither less nor better than to destroy a million of innocent men, because one among them has been judged culpable. Thus if we
allow

allow the King of Sweden all he could pretend to plead, that he was unjustly attacked at the beginning of the war, we shall find him inexcusable in the prosecution of it.

*A review
of the King
of Swe-
den's expe-
dition.*

Big with the sentiments of his own intrepidity and good fortune, and the bravery and fidelity of his troops, nothing appears impossible to this second Alexander. He almost forgets his mortality, despises every obstacle, every danger, and braves even death itself. The Muscovites fly before him, and secure themselves in their own country, behind strong entrenchments. The invader attempts to break thro' them, and succeeds. But the Czar, in the mean time, opposes other barriers, which the Swedes are unable to force, and his troops are convinced, in several rencounters, that the enemy is not invincible. His Majesty wishes however for an accommodation, and sends his proposals. The King of Sweden, inflexible to the last, will give no peace unless the Czar be deposed, and the charge of the war re-imburfed. Muscovy must resign at once her Monarch, and all her riches. A very unreasonable price, to buy off a precarious action!

The fatal hour comes; the Muscovites approach, and the Swedes attack with their usual confidence. But scarce is the battle begun, before these dethroners fly, are pursued, and the remainder of their army taken captive by a party weaker than themselves. The King of Sweden would now submit to a peace, but offers it too late. That thunderbolt of war, who spread terror wherever he came, is obliged to traverse a large river in a little boat, and become an exile among Infidels. In proportion as King Charles is depressed, the Czar Peter is advanced, and the Muscovites have now reason in their turn to condemn the Swedes.

*Encomium
of the
Czar's mo-
deration.*

But who can help being charmed with this conquering Czar, when they see him after the victory entertaining at his table the Swedish officers, and drink-

drinking “a health to his masters in the art of war?” Count Renschild’s repartee, (upon the Czar’s telling him that by his masters he meant themselves, the Swedish generals,) *Your Majesty is very ungrateful then to use your masters so ill,* was not half so pleasant as the Monarch’s behaviour was grand. Was there ever a hero more moderate, more humane, more the master of his fortune? never had prince greater provocation to be most sensibly provoked. His proposals had been rejected, his ruin contrived, and the utmost efforts made to effect it. How must the cruel tortures, the unprecedented murder of Count Patkul wound his Majesty’s heart? could a great Emperor be treated with more indignity, than by putting his ambassador upon the rack, by executing as a criminal the man who represented his sacred person? even admit that Patkul was a rebel subject, the King of Sweden ought at least to have waited till the Czar had degraded and given him up, and not have thus violated the law of nations. But the Czar, in the midst of victory, forgets all injury to himself, and seems to remember only the misfortune of the vanquished. He treats them as their own King would have done, if they had once again made him victorious.

The offer of peace which King Charles had made, was while the Muscovites were yet in pursuit of his army, before the surrender of Perewoloczna. If the Czar had then agreed to it, he had been prevented of half his triumph, and must have lost the last great fruit of his victory. But no sooner was the action complete, and the fugitive King got into Turkey, than the Russian Monarch appeared as much as ever desirous of an accommodation. Without taking so much advantage of the success of his arms, as to insist upon hard and unreasonable terms, he permitted General Meyderfeldt to go to his master, and sent to Stockholm the Swedish Secretary Gaderheim, with very moderate proposals

*The Czar
offers peace
after his
victory.*

propofals for beginning a treaty; infifting only on Ingria and part of Carelia, which he had already in his hands, with the town of Wyburg for a barrier; and Revel was alfo mentioned, but with an intention to be given up by way of abatement, during the negotiation. The King of Sweden received thefe propofals as if he had been yet a conqueror, called them “ the impudent pretentions of a forsworn enemy,” and wrote to Count Piper, then a prifoner, ordering him to take proper meafures with the Czar for fetting all his prifoners at liberty. This was the firft time he ever confented to a cartel, tho’ the Czar had often took pains to procure one, by the interpoftion of feveral powers.

*The reason
of his doing
it.*

A neutral prince, of Charles’s character, would have blamed the Czar for making thefe concessions. But that Monarch, who had himfelf feen moft of the courts in Europe, wanted to put in practice the knowledge he had acquired in his travels, and apply it all to the good of his fubjects. His troops were already formidable by land, and his fleet was growing fo by fea. What remained then but to open the fource of riches to his fubjects, to cultivate the arts, encourage induftry, provoke emulation, and fet a pattern of politenefs? this could not be all effectually done in a time of war, tho’ carried on with advantage. Befides, the juftice his Majefty fo much loved, was no longer a motive for continuing

*But is obliged to take
other meafures.*

this public calamity. But the obftinacy of the enemy obliged him to alter his meafures, and to fend frefh orders to his minifters at the courts of Saxony and Denmark for concluding a new alliance againft the King of Sweden. In the mean time he haftened towards Poland, in perfon, with a defign to join General Goltz, and the great General Siniawski. But falling ill at Kiow, thro’ a fermentation of blood occafioned by his late fatigues, he was obliged to ftop there for fome time, and content him-

himself with only sending some regiments before, by way of re-inforcement.

The restoration of Augustus to his throne, and the re-establishment of peace in Poland, were some of the happy consequences of the battle of Pultowa. Stanislaus, raised tumultuously and in haste to be a King, falls from his grandeur like a fine edifice, erected against the rules of proportion, with hardly the hopes of recovering his former condition as a subject. His rival published a long manifesto, *Substance of the K. of Polands manifesto.* the reasons in which were thought strong and persuasive by all Europe. No one could doubt what he there alledged, that a superior force had obliged him to renounce his royalty. If he had not taken that resolution, his hereditary estates had been ruined, and his natural subjects had felt all the fury of a victorious army. Forgetting therefore that he was King of Poland, he preferred the safety of a people given him by God, to that of a nation which had thrown themselves into his hands, and a great part of which was disloyal. After the victory of Kalish, he had nothing to do but to fall upon the rebel Poles, who, by the absence of their protector, must have become an easy conquest: but his Majesty, intent only upon rescuing his Saxons from the danger that threatened them, sacrificed his own interest, and no longer regarded his crown.

If any one should demand whether King Augustus, tho' he might abdicate a throne out of tenderness and compassion, could with a safe conscience break his engagements with the King of Sweden? the answer was deducible from his manifesto, that when a Prince, no longer able to defend himself, desires to treat of peace, and accepts the conditions prescribed by the enemy, he then submits to the law of the strongest, and is obliged to keep to the engagement, till a lawful and favourable opportunity presents for recovering what he has lost. This was the situation of the

King of Poland. He was assured that Saxony should not be brought into the quarrel, and yet, while he relied on this assurance, the King of Sweden enters that electorate, and acts there as sovereign. Unwilling therefore to hazard his few faithful Poles, and finding himself too weak with his Saxons alone, he endeavours to disentangle himself with as much honour, or rather as little disgrace as possible. On this principle he proposes an accommodation, nominates two ambassadors, and invests them with full power. They, far from acting up to the noble generosity of his Majesty's procedure, betray the Prince who delegates them, and give up all his interests. As he regards his subjects more than his own rights, he ratifies this shameful agreement: but as all this was extorted by an actual violence, he holds it no longer obligatory, than the necessity of his affairs remained.

It was farther urged, that the King of Sweden had no right to attempt the deposition of a Prince, who had been elected by the laws of his kingdom. He could be legally dethroned only by the nation, upon full conviction of his infringing their constitution. Nor could Augustus himself, according to equity, surrender up his scepter, without the consent of his Electors. Was there any wonder then that he resumed a post, from which he had been driven by oppression, and with the sword, as it were, held to his throat?

Besides, let the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt be ever so valid, did not the Swedes violate it first? These guests, according to the manifesto, had acted like a very cruel sort of friends. They did not observe their engagements, either according to the letter or the spirit of them. The Winter quarters that were to be granted them, which lasted above a year; their moderate contributions, which amounted to several millions; the letter of congratulation to Stanislaus, with many other grievances,

vances, were in no sense stipulated by the treaty. Whence it was inferred, that his Polish Majesty was sufficiently disengaged by the conduct of the Swedes, allowing the treaty itself to have been ever so sacred. — These were the principal arguments in that King's declaration.

* At the same time Augustus imprisoned Pfingsten and Imhoff, the plenipotentiaries who had signed his abdication, for having exceeded their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had so irritated the Poles as to become the pretence of his deposition, brought him back to Warsaw, attended by those very palatines who had already sworn allegiance both to him and Stanislaus, and were now come to renew their oath to him. Even Siniaulski, finding he could not be King, was willing to remain great general under his old master. The pope absolved the people from their oath to Stanislaus, which had no little weight in such a nation as Poland. *Re-assumes his crown.*

As the King of Poland forgot the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, agreed to when Charles lay in his hereditary dominions; the King of Denmark likewise forgot the treaty of Travendal, concluded when the same Prince invested Copenhagen. He renewed his pretensions to the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, and resolved if possible to get possession of them. Augustus and he had an interview at Dresden, where they settled the division of their intended conquests. From thence they went to Potsdam, in hopes to bring the King of Prussia into their measures, who had formerly some pretensions on Swedish Pomerania. But that monarch, unwilling to engage in these new commotions, entertained them splendidly, desired them to stand godfathers to a child of the Prince royal's, and let them depart without any promise on his side. *Other parties in the alliance against Charles.*

The Duke of Mecklenburg was provoked to see the Swedes in

possession of Wismar, the finest city in his dutchy; and as he was to marry the Czar's niece, he could with the greater security join in the alliance. The Elector of Hanover, afterwards King of Great Britain, had also a prospect of enriching himself with some of Charles's dismembered provinces; as the dutchies of Bremen and Ferden, now in possession of his present Majesty, actually are.

*How the
Czar acts
in this al-
liance.*

The Czar, more powerful than all his Allies put together, became at this conjuncture, what Charles had been before, the arbiter of the North. He sent an army into Poland, to assist Augustus in the recovery of his throne; but whereas the King of Sweden had acted only for revenge or glory, his Czarish Majesty had the wisdom to consult his own interest. The Swedish hero had succoured his Allies, and defeated his enemies, without insisting on the least advantage, as the fruit of his victories: but the Russian monarch acted more like a sovereign than a hero, and assisted the King of Poland only upon the condition that Livonia should be delivered up to him. That province, for the sake of which Augustus had kindled the war, was now to remain to the Muscovites for ever.

*The Czar
arrives at
Lubl.n.*

* On the 5th of September, 1709, the Czar of Muscovy, with the hereditary Prince, and several persons of note, arrived at Lublin. The same day in the evening the Princes Menzikoff, Golofskin, and Dolgorucki, the sieur Oginski, and several other generals, arrived there also; as did the next day Field Marshal Goltz, having left the army under his command at a little distance on the other side of the river. That General was favourably received by the Czar, who the next day viewed his army. His Majesty held a council, when 1000 dragoons were detached towards Warsaw, to secure some posts upon the road, and another detachment of 400 was sent to take a post on

on the Vistula. From this place his Majesty published a declaration, inviting all the Poles to return to their allegiance.

† An interview having been appointed at Thorn, *An interview between the Russian and Polish monarchs, the latter, upon advice that the Czar intended to come by water, took boat on the 8th of October, attended by the whole court, and went up the Vistula; where he met his Czarish Majesty, who immediately left his own boat, and came into that of King Augustus. They embraced one another very tenderly, and both expressed their joy and satisfaction to meet again. The Czar congratulated King Augustus on his happy return into his dominions, and King Augustus congratulated the Czar on the signal victory obtained over their common enemy: after which the Polish senators, and Saxon ministers, that were present, paid their respects to his Czarish Majesty, and complimented him on the same subject. Some of them expressed themselves in the following words: That they had prayed to God for a victory, but had not expected it so complete and entire. To which the Czar was pleased to answer, That they had put up their prayers for it according to human frailty, but that God had given it according to his infinite mercies.*

Their Majesties being landed near Thorn, the Czar received the compliments of the Magistrates in a body, and after having returned them an answer by the great chancellor Count Goloffskin, the monarchs got on horseback, and went to a house upon the market-place, prepared for the Czar, who rid on the right hand. King Augustus, after a short stay, went from this house to his own palace. The Czar dined with his Majesty, and had again the right hand at table. During that entertainment, which lasted till late at night, the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other musick, were playing, and the people assembled in great numbers.

T 3.

bers:

bers under the windows, to see both the monarchs: with which the Czar was so well pleased, that he desired his Polish Majesty to distribute some hogheads of wine amongst them. This being done, nothing but *Long live the Czar and the King*, was heard thro' all the streets. The Polish senators were extraordinary well satisfied with the good intentions his Czarish Majesty expressed towards their republic.

*And at
Marien-
werder be-
tween the
Czar and
the K. of
Prussia.*

Augustus and Peter having taken such measures here as were thought requisite, the former departed for Saxony, and the latter to Marienwerder, where he was to meet the King of Prussia, who arrived there on the 25th of October. M. Graben, governor of the place, caused the castle to be fitted up for the reception of his master and the Czar; but the little time he had to make these preparations, would not allow to receive them with as much magnificence as he intended. The King being informed, that the Czar was coming down thither by the Vistula, went above half a mile out of the town, and received him at his landing, giving him the upper hand; and they expressed all imaginable respect towards each other. They got into the same coach, in which sat likewise the sieur Keyserling, envoy of the King of Prussia, and proceeded to the castle; the garrison and burghers being on their arms, and saluting them with three salvo's. Prince Menzikoff and Count Wartemberg came together in the next coach, and afterwards the chief officers of both Princes. In this interview, besides confirming former alliances, it was concluded that the D. of Courland, nephew of the King, should have his dutchy restored to him.

Prince Menzikoff received here a letter from brigadier Kropotock, who was left on the frontiers of Podolia with a body of troops, giving an account, that having received intelligence by his spies, that the Swedes, who made their escape over the Nieper after the defeat near Pultowa, were on their march

march for Moldavia or Transilvania, to retire by the way of Hungary, that General marched with the forces under his command, with all possible speed, to cut off their retreat; and that arriving not far from Tfernjatoka, a little town on the frontiers, he received intelligence that the enemies were but at a short distance from him. His foot being fatigued by the long marches they had made, he detached Colonel Traskey, with the horse, and gave him orders to attack the enemy, and amuse them with skirmishes, to give time to the foot to come up; which orders he executed with a great deal of conduct, charged them several times, and took a captain, a lieutenant, two ensigns, and six private men prisoners. The enemy being thus overtaken, retired into a wood, which, as soon as the commander came up with his infantry, he caused to be surrounded, and attacked them therein. They made at first a brave defence, but not being able to resist such a body of troops, they surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of 250 men, including officers. The Swedes had 500 Cossacks with them, who fearing to be punished as rebels to their Prince, fought desperately; but were all killed on the spot, except some few who threw themselves into the river Pruth, to make their escape; and most of them were drowned. Thus was destroyed a great part of Charles's remaining little army, who had retired with him into Turkey, and were now sent to reconnoitre the state of affairs in that quarter.

From Marienwerder the Czar went to Mittaw, where he gave audience to the Courlanders, and, to mitigate their complaints, released them from part of the contributions which his generals had levied on them. His Majesty then went to Riga, and set fire to the first bomb thrown into that place. From thence, leaving the siege to be carried on by his generals, he made the best of his way thro' Petersburg, to the neighbourhood of Moscow.

The Czar's public entry into Moscow. On the 1st of January 1710, the Czar made his entry into his antient capital, with an unheard-of magnificence. All the Swedish prisoners, generals, officers, and soldiers, taken in the battles of Lesno, Pultowa, and the surrender at Perewoloczna, were led therein in a triumphant manner. Amongst the former were Count Piper, first minister of state, and great master of the household of the King of Sweden; the General Field-Marshal Renschild, General Leuvenhaupt governor of Riga, and the Majors-General Schlippenbach, Krütz, Kruse, Rose, Stackelberg, Hamilton; and several others. The cannon, standards, colours, kettle-drums, and other trophies taken in those battles, were carried in this solemnity by the persons who took them. It was certainly one of the finest spectacles that ever was seen in those parts of the world, and perhaps in any other since the declension of the Roman Empire. The streets and public places, through which the Czar went, were adorned with seven triumphal arches, and crowded with an incredible number of spectators, both Muscovites and foreigners.

The Czar having used the Swedish prisoners, after the battle of Pultowa, with so much humanity and civility; the usage they met with in this entry seemed surprising to many people, as the Christians had long ago abolished the custom of leading prisoners of war as captives, and exposing them to the view and contempt of the mob. Men of honour, whom a cross fortune throws prisoners into the hands of a generous enemy, ought to be pitied, and their condition should be made as easy as is consistent with the use and custom of war. This is the practice of all civiliz'd nations, at least in Europe, which made the conduct of the Czar appear somewhat unjust: but if we consider that that Prince had received many intolerable provocations from the Swedes in their prosperity, and that it was his interest to persuade his

his subjects both of his own great capacity in war, and that the Swedes, of whom they were so much afraid, were not invincible; the reasons arising from these considerations, are sufficient to excuse, if not altogether justify, what the Czar did this entry; and rather the more, because his Majesty's temper was known to be averse to pride and ostentation.

* On the same day his Czarish Majesty treated all the chief persons of quality, and the foreign ministers, at a public dinner. In the evening, a sumptuous firework, on which were several representations and inscriptions, was prepared, and went off with great exactness. The chief machines were a Phaeton struck with a thunder-bolt, and another figure in allusion to a late medal struck in Sweden. Two pillars were first lighted, which supported imperial crowns, and were adorned with a great variety of blue, green, and pale flames. When they had burnt some time, a lion moved forward, on whose approach the first pillar broke short at the pedestal; but as he advanced near the second, a spread-eagle, representing his Majesty's arms, launched a rocket, which blew up the lion's head and neck, and the pillar remained firm to the last.

In order to introduce a very particular affair, which happened during the Czar's residence at Moscow, it is necessary to turn back to some particulars, which we did not before mention, for fear of breaking the thread of history that regards the King of Sweden's expedition.

While the Czar was defending his own dominions against the invader, an accident happened in England, that had like to have broke off the good understanding between the courts of London and Peterburgh. M. Andrew de Matueof, his Czarish Majesty's ambassador to the Queen of Great Britain,

tain,

* *Mercuré historique, & politique*, Feb. 1710.

His ambassador at the court of Great Britain affronted.

tain, was arrested by one Moreton; a lace-man in Covent-Garden, and other tradesmen; who finding his Excellency had an audience of leave of her Majesty, and imagining, or pretending to imagine, that he would leave the kingdom *incognito*, employed some bailiffs to secure their debts. The Ambassador, justly surpris'd at this treatment, so contrary to the law of nations, and perhaps not readily submitting to the authority of these officers, was very roughly handled by them. Upon this he made application for redress to her Majesty, and her council, who immediately took care to confine the parties concerned, for having thus, in contempt of the supreme authority, put this affront upon him. Various stories flew about, in regard to the particular reparation insisted on by the Ambassador; but this is certain, that his Excellency at last retired into Holland, after several letters had passed between him and Mr. Secretary Boyle; and the Queen ordered her attorney-general, a little before Michaelmas term 1708, to prosecute those who had been guilty, in the Queen's-Bench. In the mean time the Czar wrote a letter to the Queen, which we shall here insert, because it contains several circumstances of the affair, as they were represented by the Ambassador.

His Majesty's letter on that occasion.

“ WE cannot forbear notifying to your Majesty, with how great trouble of mind and horror, by the humble remonstrance of Andrew de Matueof, our ambassador at your court, charged with several important commissions, we have received an unexpected piece of news, *viz.* That the said ambassador, after having obtained an audience of leave of your Majesty at London, the place of your residence; out of premeditated malice, and of set purpose, (as it appears) was set upon, in the open street, by several bailiffs, who received their commissions from a certain viscount or sheriff, and acted like robbers, against the public

lic laws of nations, with an unheard-of and unparalleled barbarity: for by dispersing his servants, violently breaking his coach, taking away his sword, cane, and hat, and tearing his clothes, they put upon him such a notorious affront, as no civiliz'd person would presume to offer to a foreign minister of his character; nor even to a commoner, unless he would run the risque of being most severely punished: and what most of all enhances the heinousness of the fact, while our said ambassador, crying out for help against the outrage and robbery, had got together some persons, who intended to rescue him out of the hands of the pillagers; and when they, for that purpose, had stopped the coach, and being desirous to know the cause, brought him into the next victualling-house; the audacious miscreants produced a warrant from the magistrate to detain the said ambassador, for the sum of 50 pounds sterling, due from him to certain merchants; and when the people who ran together, began to separate again upon the discovery of the matter, they forthwith hurried him into a hackney-coach, taken by force, and delivered him up to be confined in a certain infamous house, called *The Black Raven*. And although our said ambassador had notified this unheard-of and flagitious outrage to the Secretary of State, nevertheless he could not be found; and Secretary Walpole only came to the said house, not to set him at liberty (as it most evidently appears) but to be an eye-witness of this barbarous usage, the like to which was never yet seen under the sun. Neither did he offer any assistance to our ambassador, as a person skilled in the public law of nations, which protects the character of an ambassador from all manner of insults, but went away: so that our said ambassador, being destitute of all help, and forsaken, was forced to redeem himself from the house of bondage, and, after a long space of time, to procure his liberty.

Forasmuch then as our Majesty is apparently assaulted by this wicked attempt, and indignity put upon the person of our ambassador, such as was never practised, nor even heard of in the whole world, much less among civiliz'd people; not only profaning, but quite subverting the law of nations: therefore, we hope that your royal Majesty will have a due regard to the grievous affront offered to us in the person of our ambassador, together with the infringement of the law of nations; occasioned primarily by the sheriff, as the author of the whole mischief, inasmuch as the said sheriff countenanced so audacious an attempt, and looked upon the detaining of our ambassador as a trifle; and secondarily by the bailiffs, who presumed to abuse our said ambassador in the open street, after the abovementioned manner; and lastly by the merchants, who occasioned his confinement (as is evident from their malevolent instigation, in order to overthrow the antient friendship established with us and our empire:) wherefore we being persuaded, that your Majesty will esteem those persons no otherwise than as the most profligate of pillagers and violators of the laws of nations, proportionably to their guilt, we intreat your Majesty to consent, that, for an example to others, a diligent search be made after the rest of the accomplices of the crimes, and that a capital punishment, according to the rigour of the law, be inflicted on them all, at least such an one as is adequate to the nature of the affront which every particular person put upon the ambassador.

The same ambassador, by virtue of the instructions given him on this subject, will more largely explain our request to your Majesty; which has been already declared by our ministers to your Majesty's resident in our court. On these considerations, we have reason to hope from your Majesty's justice such a satisfaction for this intolerable outrage; and the rather, in regard that your

Ma-

Majesty's honour, and the reputation of all your subjects of Great Britain, will, by this means, become famous throughout the whole world; and we shall be certainly assured of the continuance of your royal friendship, and all effects of a contrary opinion will be entirely removed; and lest, upon failure of a satisfaction worthy of, and equivalent to the injured honour, we be compelled to obtain it by way of reprisal, which indeed would be very irksome to us, upon account of that particular esteem we have for your Majesty's friendship. Finally, we wish your Majesty health and a prosperous reign."

In pursuance of the Queen of Great Britain's *Proceed-*
command, an information was tried at the Queen's-*ings there-*
Bench, Westminster, the 14th of February, before *upon.*

the right honourable the Lord chief justice Holt, for the Queen, against Thomas Morton, Isaac Spilcumb, Andrew Stan, Edward Young, and ten others, for meeting, consulting, and conspiring to arrest and imprison the Muscovite ambassador; for which they were all found guilty, excepting Young, saving the special matter of the privilege of ambassadors, to be argued before the judges the next term. There were present in court, the right honourable the Earl of Sunderland, the right honourable Mr. Boyle, the Lord Halifax, and several other persons of quality.

The proceedings in England, were not sufficient to satisfy either the Czar or his minister; and something farther being insisted on, Mr. Whitworth, her Majesty's envoy at the court of Russia, was invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary for the particular occasion, to make preparation by a public excuse; which the Czar received during his abode now at Moscow, in presence of the nobility and foreign ministers.

The British ambassador has audience.

* The 8th of February being appointed for the solemnity, the chief carver of his Czarish Majesty, accompanied by the cup-bearer, who officiated as master of the ceremonies, went from the court in one of his Majesty's coaches, to the house of the British ambassador, being followed by 20 other coaches of the *grandees*, some to make up a train, and others for the ambassador's secretary and gentlemen, who were all richly clothed. Being come to the ambassador's house, the carver and cup-bearer, went up to his apartment, where they declared the business they were come about ; and, after some moments conversation, they went into the coach with the ambassador, who took the place of honour : the secretary and gentlemen of the embassy went in the coaches appointed for them, each according to his rank.

Arriving at the court, the two regiments of guards, were there drawn up, made the salutes of honour to the ambassador, and remained standing in parade during the whole audience, making a very fine show. Monsieur de Naraskin, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his Czarish Majesty, received the ambassador at the foot of the stair-case. Prince George de Scherbaty, counsellor of State, performed the like honours to him at the top of the stair-case, and Monsieur de Muffin Puschkin, privy-councillor, complimented him in the anti-chamber. The ambassador was conducted to the hall of audience, where his Czarish Majesty was standing uncovered under a canopy, leaning against a table, having an arm'd chair behind him ; the *grandees* and ministers of the court, with the generals of his army, standing on each hand of him.

As soon as the ambassador came in sight of him, he made his first obeisance ; in the middle of the hall his second ; and the third when he had ascended

ascended the estrade on which his Czarish Majesty stood; where standing, and with his hat off, his excellency made a speech in English, of which the secretary of the embassy read aloud a translation in the German tongue, signed with the ambassador's hand, to the end the foreign ministers, who had been invited to assist at this solemnity, might understand the contents of it; and then one of his Czarish Majesty's secretaries read it out in the Russian language, for the information of the Lords and gentlemen of the Empire. After the speech was ended, the ambassador delivered to his Czarish Majesty the Queen of Great Britain's letter, to the following effect.

“ **W**E have already written to your Imperial *Queen* Majesty, to declare to you the great *Anne's letter to the* grief we conceived, for the unhappy affront which *Czar.* was offered to your ambassador, before he left our court. We have since received the letter which your Imperial Majesty wrote to us upon that subject; and we can assure your Imperial Majesty, that we were touched with true sorrow, when we saw how highly you resented the violence which had been offered to your Imperial Majesty's own person, in the character of your Imperial Majesty's ambassador; and we were the more grieved on this occasion, when we reflected on the insufficiency of our laws, to give as ample a satisfaction as we desired to make, as well for the just sense we ourself had of the indignity which had been offered, as to convince your Imperial Majesty how much we were inclined to make a suitable reparation of the injury done so good a friend and ally. But we must confess, that at the same time we had a singular pleasure, in observing your Imperial Majesty's desire to prevent the misunderstanding which might arise therefrom; and the great esteem you shewed for our friendship, as well as the care you

expressed to preserve and cultivate it, by reciprocal marks of friendship and affection.

Wherefore, we promise ourself from your goodness, that upon the representations which from time to time have been made to you in our name, by our envoy extraordinary at your Imperial court, your Imperial Majesty will be pleased to examine into the nature of this affair; whereby your Imperial Majesty will see, that we have not the least inclination to favour the criminals, nor to screen them from justice; but that there are insuperable difficulties, with respect to the antient and fundamental laws of the government of our people, which, we fear, do not permit so severe and rigorous a sentence to be given, as your Imperial Majesty at first seemed to expect in this case: and we persuade ourself, that your Imperial Majesty, who are a Prince equally famous for clemency and exact justice, will not require us, who are the guardian and protectress of the laws, to inflict a punishment upon our subjects, which the law does not empower us to do.

Nevertheless, we have not been wanting, at the same time, to use all the means which we judged most effectual, to persuade your Imperial Majesty, and the whole world, of the sincerity of our intentions, and of our endeavours in this affair. And to the end the guilty might be punished, so far as the laws and constitutions of our kingdoms, which were then in force, would permit; we gave express and repeated orders to our officers of justice, and to our ministers, to prosecute them with the utmost severity.

That prosecution has been long continued with very great diligence, and nothing has been omitted to bring it to as speedy a conclusion as possible. But after all, the matter is such, that we find ourself obliged to inform your Imperial Majesty, that as well because of the different pleadings in favour of the criminals; the slow, but indispensable

sable manners of 'proceeding in a law-suit of so great importance ; as of the case itself, which is of an extraordinary nature, against which no sufficient provision is made in the antient statutes of these kingdoms ; it has not hitherto been in the power of our council learned in the law, to obtain a sentence, nor a final decision of this affair.

Wherefore, considering all these inconveniences, and foreseeing the delays which might probably happen in the ordinary course of law ; and desiring, at the same time, to give you signal marks of our sorrow, as also to shew you the indignation of all our subjects on this occasion, we have passed an act of parliament made in the most solemn manner, by the great council and assembly of our kingdom of Great Britain, wherein is made a declaration as authentic as possible, of the just horror which our subjects in general have against this violent insult ; and all the acts and proceedings, which relate to the arrest of the person of your Imperial Majesty's ambassador, are annull'd, and raz'd out of the registers of our courts of justice, and those who had a share therein, are branded as infamous criminals, and obnoxious to the laws which were then in force. And if any person hereafter durst commit the like offence, or, any ways, violate the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers, they will be liable to the most severe penalties and punishments, which the arbitrary power of the judges should think fit to inflict upon them, and to which no bounds are given in this new act. So that all insults of this nature will be prevented for the future, and the security which all Princes ministers ought to enjoy, will be firmly established and preserved by this famous law. And this will remain as a monument to all posterity, of the deference which has been shewn to your Imperial Majesty ; and all the ministers which shall come for the future,

will be indebted for this extraordinary act for their protection, to the particular consideration which we and our people have had for your Imperial Majesty's honour. As therefore your Imperial Majesty cannot but see, that we have used our utmost endeavours in prosecuting the criminals, and in causing them to be punished, tho' not with the success we could have wished: and since we have procured an act to be made by the representatives of all our subjects of Great Britain, as well for reparation of what has been done, as to prevent the like insolences for the future; we instantly pray your Imperial Majesty to accept of all that we have done on our side, as the most we could do here for your satisfaction; whereby your Imperial Majesty will give us the strongest proof that can be, of your constant affection towards us; and you may be assured, that we shall not fail on our side, to do all that lies in our power, on all occasions, to shew you our gratitude by our firm friendship and esteem.

And to the end that nothing may be omitted, which is in our power to do farther, by way of suitable reparation, We have thought fit to make choice of some worthy and able person, to declare to your Imperial Majesty, in the most public and solemn manner, the indignation we conceived at the affront offered, and our concern that it is not in our power to cause the criminals to be punished according to their deserts. And as our trusty and well-beloved Mr. Charles Whitworth has merited our royal approbation, by his ability and experience in all the affairs which have been entrusted with him, as also by his good conduct at your Imperial Majesty's court, for several years past; we have, therefore, given him a special power and commission to represent our person, as our ambassador extraordinary upon this occasion, and to make such excuses and declarations in our name, as will, we hope, give your Imperial Majesty en-
tire

tire satisfaction. And we do hereby desire your Imperial Majesty to be pleased to admit and receive the said Mr. Charles Whitworth as our ambassador extraordinary for this end, and to give entire credit to all that he shall say to you in our royal name, as if we were present to do it in person. We will only add, as a mark of our esteem for your ambassador himself, who suffered this insult, that as we were sensible of his personal virtues and great qualities, during his residence at our court, so we were more particularly concerned, that such an injury should be offered to a gentleman of so great merit and consideration, being, besides, the ambassador of so great a Prince, and so good an Ally. And so praying, that the Great dispenser of all good things will vouchsafe to pour forth his heavenly benedictions upon the person and kingdom of your Imperial Majesty, we recommend you to his holy protection.

A N N E R.

His Czarish Majesty having received this letter from the hands of the ambassador, delivered it to the Count de Goloffkin, and was pleased to make the following answer in his own tongue.

IT was but requisite, that her Majesty the *The Czar's*
 Queen should have given us satisfaction, by *answer.*
 punishing the criminals conformably to our demands, in the most rigorous manner, as is the custom in such cases throughout the universe: but seeing her Majesty has ordered you to make excuses in the quality of her ambassador extraordinary, conferred upon you expressly for this purpose, and to remonstrate, that her Majesty could not inflict such a punishment upon them, because of the defect, in that particular, of the former established constitutions of her kingdom; and that with the unanimous consent of the parliament, her Majesty has

has caused a new act to be passed to serve as a law therein for the future ; we accept all this for a proof of the affection her Majesty has for us, and for sufficient satisfaction ; and we will give orders to our ministers, to settle entirely this affair with you in a conference."

His Czarish Majesty having concluded his answer, the ambassador retired backwards out of the hall, making three obeisances, in the same manner as when he came in, and was conducted back to his house, with the same ceremony, and the same train. The chief carver treated him three days successively, by express order of his Czarish Majesty, with the greatest plenty, delicacy, and magnificence: the officers of his Majesty's household serving at table.

The 9th of the same month, the ambassador came to the house of Count de Goloffkin, Great Chamberlain, and there had a conference with him, and other ministers of his Czarish Majesty ; in which this troublesome affair was terminated, to the mutual satisfaction of the two powers ; and the antient friendship between the two crowns renewed, on condition that certain articles, which were stipulated, should be performed. After which his Czarish Majesty was to acquaint the Queen that he is content with the foresaid satisfaction, by a letter, which should be delivered to the ambassador, Mr. Whitworth. All this was accordingly done.

A great advantage from the victory at Pultowa.

* The defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa produced one advantage, with respect to the establishment of arts, which undoubtedly the Czar himself did not expect. After the triumph at Moscow, about 3000 Swedish officers, and near 20,000 soldiers, were dispersed all over his dominions, especially in the vast country of Siberia, which,
taken

taken in the utmost latitude, extends to the borders of China, and is the place of exile for Muscovite criminals. Almost all these prisoners, destitute of a plentiful subsistence, and considering the distance and uncertainty of their return, took to the exercise of such different professions, as they had knowledge of, and in which necessity soon made them expert. Even masters of languages, and mathematicians, sprung up among them. They became a sort of colony, which civilized the antient inhabitants; and many curious arts, which, though well known at Moscow and Petersburg, would have been many years in travelling to Siberia, were by their means conveyed thither in an instant. All the distinctions which fortune makes among men, were lost, with the liberty of these people. The officer, who could follow no trade, was forced to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, that was now turned taylor, draper, or smith, and got a subsistence by his labour.

Count Piper, the King of Sweden's Prime Minister, was the most severely used of all the prisoners, as *Count Piper's fate.* the Czar suspected him of having persuaded his master, for a sum of money given him by the Duke of Marlborough, to turn his arms out of the Empire into Russia. He was a long time confined at Petersburg, and died some years after at Moscow.

Frequent rumours were every day spread over Europe, that the King of Sweden was upon the point of returning home, and sometimes that he was upon the road. Mean while the Czar and his Allies made the best use of that monarch's absence, and stripped him of almost all his territories, but Scandinavia only. General Crassau had drawn off his army, consisting of 12 or 13,000 men, from Poland into Pomerania, which was now to have been the seat of the war. This storm alarmed the Emperor and the German Princes, who, with the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, were then at war with France, and

The treaty of neutrality.

and occasioned that famous act of neutrality for the Empire, which allowed the Northern Allies, to attack the King of Sweden any where but in Germany. The Czar and the King of Poland came into this treaty, and caused an article to be inserted, that the Swedes in Pomerania should not depart thence, to defend their other provinces. An army was to be raised in the Empire, and encamped on the Oder, to preserve this neutrality: but the King of Sweden protested strongly against the articles that tied up his hands, while it left his enemies at liberty; and at last the whole project came to nothing, for want of the quotas being sent in.

The marriage of Anne Joannowna, at present Empress of Russia, to Frederick William, Duke of Courland, was celebrated during the Czar's residence at Moscow. But the young Prince falling ill, left her a widow a few days after marriage. About the same time his Majesty received news of the taking of Elbing, a considerable town in Polish Prussia.

Elbing taken.

It will not be improper to insert a particular account of that action, which was certainly very glorious to the forces of the Czar.

* Major-General Nostitz having pretended to make preparation of all things, that he might the better succeed in the design he had formed to carry the place by assault, commanded out 2000 men, and divided them into seven bodies, to make five real attacks, and two feigned ones, at 5 o'clock next morning; with orders, in case one of them should succeed, to push the Swedes home, without giving them time to recollect themselves. Pursuant to this order, the troops moved under the command of brigadier Balck, and, after they had passed the ditches, they scaled the wall on the side of the new town, and of the corn magazines,

zines, and entered the place, notwithstanding the fire of the cannon, with which the ramparts were well provided, and the opposition of the main part of the garrison; and besides, the bastions and works had mines under them. The Swedes were pushed to the bridge of the old town, over the river, where for some time they made an obstinate resistance; but in the end, they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the great square of the old town, where brigadier Balck made all the garrison prisoners, with the two lieutenant colonels who commanded them.

This action was the bolder, because the town was fortified with twelve royal bastions, two ditches filled with waters, and a high wall with ramparts of turf. Major General Nostitz, in consideration of the gallant behaviour of the commanding Swedish officers in this action, returned them their swords till the Czar's pleasure should be known. Those officers confessed that they could not conceive how the Major-General came to hazard such an enterprize, and yet less how it came to succeed so happily; attributing the success entirely to the good conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of his Czarish Majesty. The prisoners were the Lieutenant-Colonels Bethun and Jager, 10 captains, 13 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 95 subalterns and gunners, 766 soldiers.

The Major General re-fortified Elbing, and put into it a strong garrison, which was the more wondered at, because an agreement was said to have been made between the Czar and the King of Prussia, for the immediate delivery of this place to the latter. It is certain the Prince of Holstein demanded it in the King's name; but the Muscovite General denied his having knowledge of any such agreement, and refused to comply without an express order from his master. He gave a like denial to the Polish diet, who also demanded it for the republic, to whom it formerly belonged.

And fortified by the Muscovites.

That

*Divisions
of the Poles*

That assembly in the mean time was greatly divided in itself; the members making the continuance of Russian troops in Poland a pretext for their animosities; refusing to come to any resolution on the state of the nation, till those troops were sent out of the kingdom. This reason alone would have obliged the Czar to continue them, lest he should lose the fruit of all his victories.

His Majesty left Moscow the latter end of February, in order to go into Poland; but first he undertook the siege of Wyburg, which would open his troops a way into the Great Dutchy of Finland. He came before the place in April with 23,000 men, 80 pieces of cannon, 26 large and 250 small mortars. He was here in some danger of being surpris'd by a Swedish fleet of 13 sail, which however only shewed itself, without attempting any thing. Admiral Apraxin was left to carry on the siege, who attacking the suburbs, the Swedes quitted them, having set their magazines on fire. The Muscovites put out the flames, and seized on three ships in the port. The siege continued till June, when the † governor obtained leave to march out with arms and baggage: but Count Apraxin, upon his quitting the place, caus'd him and his garrison to be detain'd prisoners of war, as a reprisal for several practices of the Swedes contrary to the laws of nations, and the use of war. That general published a sort of manifesto, containing the reasons which induc'd him to this seeming breach of the capitulation, which consisted of three articles. 1. That a Muscovite ship being sent to Sweden with a flag of truce, as had been often practis'd in the like cases, had been detain'd contrary to all manner of justice. 2. Because the resident of the Czar, who was at Stockholm in the beginning of this war, had been detain'd, and had his effects confiscat'd, tho'

*Wyburg
surrender-
ed.*

tho' the Swedish minister residing at Moscow was sent back without molestation. 3. Because the subjects of his Czarian Majesty, who were come into Sweden in times of peace, to carry on a trade beneficial to both nations, were detained upon the beginning of the war, and had their effects confiscated.—The number of the garrison, including the sick and wounded, was near 5000 men. There was found in the town a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

The garrison of Riga, which surrendered about the same time, had a better fate than that of Wyburg. † The siege of that place had been a long time carried on, with various hopes of success, and was now reduced to a blockade. On the 22d of January past, the laboratory for bombs had taken fire, which in an instant blew up the whole house, and the magazines adjoining, to the great terror of the garrison, of whom near 2000 were entirely lost. General Czeremetoff had after this offered very honourable conditions to General Strömberg the governor, to induce him to surrender; but the intrepid Swede returned those civilities only from the mouth of his cannon, expecting, but in vain, to be relieved by sea.

† At last, on the 29th of June, being the feast of St. Peter, whose name his Czarian Majesty bears, when the General officers were at dinner with Field-Marshal Czèremetoff, the Swedish governor sent out one to notify that he desired to capitulate; and would send out deputies for that purpose. The next day the Field-Marshal sent into the town, for hostages, two colonels and an auditor; and his coaches brought back to the camp 11 hostages from the town. Being conducted into the presence of the Field-Marshal, they made a speech to him; and he nominated two colonels and one auditor to treat with them. They deli-

And Riga.

X

vered

† Mercure, &c.

vered about 65 articles, upon which his excellency having deliberated with the other generals, sent them back into the town, with his resolution, by the Swedish auditor, who was ordered to return at nine the next morning with that of Count Stromberg. The auditor came at the time limited, but it was only to desire some delay for the governor ; which being refused, the governor sent out his resolutions in the afternoon ; and the whole was agreed, signed, and exchanged. By virtue of the capitulation, the garrison was to be conducted to Revel, and thence transported to Stockholm : but this last particular was never complied with, for reasons published by the Field-Marshal. The town and citadel were immediately garrisoned by 7 Muscovite regiments, commanded by Prince Repnin. What forced the governor to surrender, was the famine, which was so great, that at least 100 men of the garrison died every day during the last weeks of the siege ; and of above 10,000, of which the garrison consisted when the place was invested, no more than 1800 were left able to bear arms. Sixty thousand of the towns people perished likewise during the siege, partly by famine, and partly by the plague. The Swedish garrison went out with the usual marks of honour, of drums beating, colours flying, arms and baggage, and six cannon, with powder and ball for six charges each. But Prince Czeremetoff detained the remains of the two regiments of Carelia and Wyburg, alledging that they were become subjects of the Czar, by his late conquests. And so favourable an impression did the Prince give of his master's government, that a great number of officers, and almost all the Livonians, put themselves voluntarily under his protection. There were found here 5000 pieces of artillery ; but no provisions, and very little ammunition.

The old garrison of Dunamayden-Schans, who were at first 1200 men, having been almost all swept

swept away by the plague, the Swedish Squadron put in a re-inforcement of 700 men. But the contagion continuing to rage among these likewise, near 200 of them were presently carried off, and M. Stackleberg the governor himself was sick. In this extremity of the place the Muscovites raised batteries against it, and it surrendered in about a fortnight.

The town of Pernau was obliged, on the 21st of August, to follow the example of Riga, and submit to the Czar; who sent a detachment to besiege Kexholm in Carelia, and another to besiege Revel, the only place of note the Swedes remained masters of in Livonia. Revel surrendered on the 8th of October, the garrison being reduced to the last extremity, thro' sickness and want of provisions. Of 50,000 inhabitants in this place, but 3000 were left. Kexholm capitulated on the 19th of September; as Arenberg, in the isle of Oesel, had done on the 14th. In these places were large quantities of military stores.

The Czar being now master of all Livonia, he published a proclamation, promising the inhabitants a renewal of their privileges, encouraging trade and navigation, and inviting foreigners to come and settle in that country, which war and pestilence had almost depopulated. Ships of other nations, which came into the Livonian harbours, were treated with all possible civility, and nothing was neglected by his Majesty, to render his government acceptable to these new subjects.

The Allies of his Czarish Majesty, were not so fortunate as himself. King Augustus, harrassed as he was by the Diet of Warsaw, had not time for action, and his troops could only watch the motions of General Crassau in Pomerania. The enterprize against Schonen, by the King of Denmark, had a very different success from what most people imagined, notwithstanding it was undertaken in the most favourable juncture that

*As do also
Pernau,
Arenberg,
Kexholm,
and Revel.*

*The ill success of the
K. of Denmark.*

ever the Danes could have wished for. Sweden exhausted; its army entirely defeated, or taken prisoners; their King wounded, and forced to take refuge in the Turkish dominions; Livonia exposed to the ravages of a powerful enemy, were all very promising circumstances, which seemed to assure the Danes, that their design could not miscarry. They had all imaginable success in the beginning of this war. They landed in Schonen without any opposition. The Swedes fled before them as far as Christianstadt and Carelshaven: but

The Danes when these conquerors, flushed-up with this suc-
defeated in cess, meditated the design to go and burn the
Schonen. Swedish fleet at Carelscroon, the Swedes marched against them, forced them to abandon Christianstadt, and return towards Helsingburgh. Within three miles of that place they were entirely routed by General Steinbock, at the head of 8000 old troops, and 12,000 new ones, who, on this occasion, out of a natural antipathy to the Danes, behaved with the intrepidity of veteran regiments, obliged the General to fight sooner than he intended, and cut to pieces all the King of Denmark's guards. The remains of the Danish army retired under the cannon of Helsingburg, and in five days after the battle returned to Zealand, having first killed their horses, and destroyed their provisions, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy:

We must now leave the affairs on this side of Europe, and turn to a new scene of action, which had like to have proved fatal to his Czarish Majesty, and in him to the whole Russian Empire. Even the faults of great men ought not to be concealed, and they are usually themselves the first to acknowledge their mistakes. The Czar Peter, whose great genius but two years before had been too hard for the warlike King of Sweden, 1711 had like to have fallen a sacrifice to a raw unexperienced

perienced Grand Vizir, who never before made a campaign.

Ever since the King of Sweden had been in Turkey, he had used all possible means to occasion a rupture between the Ottoman Porte and the Czar, to whom he was still irreconcilable. General Poniatowski, a person of extraordinary abilities, and who had saved his master after the battle of Pultowa, was now agent of his intrigues in the seraglio. Several persons of the first rank there, and particularly the Sultana mother, received such favourable impressions of the young Christian hero, that they did all in their power to second his designs, and things were long there in a very fluctuating state with regard to Russia. War was sometimes threatened, and then again peace was confirmed; and as there had been several Grand Vizirs during these two years, it was given out, tho' with little foundation, that the King of Sweden advanced and disgraced them at pleasure, according as they seemed inclinable to execute his revenge. At last Baltagi Mahomet, who had been formerly a cleaver of wood, had the seals gave him; and the party of King Charles at that time prevailing, the first command this minister received was to march against the Muscovites with 200,000 men.

The palatine of Kiow, who fled with the King from Pultowa, had great sway over the Kam of Tartary, as that Prince always has among the Ottoman ministers †. Soon after his misfortune, the palatine made a journey to the Kam's court, from whom he received many signal favours, and in particular firmly engaged him in the King of Sweden's interest. From this time forwards, all proper measures were consulted for bringing the Porte into the same sentiments, and breaking the peace between Turkey and Russia, which however

*Influence
of the pala-
tine of
Kiow and
the Kam.*

X 3

had

† Life of the Czar, &c. said to be wrote by a British officer.

had been renewed in this very year. But now, what by insinuating the exorbitant greatness of the Czar, especially since his defeat of the King of Sweden, and the danger which threatened the Ottoman Empire from the increase of his power in the Black Sea ; the Bashaw of Bender, the musti, the captain Bashaw or admiral, and at last the Sultan himself, and the whole divan, (in which the Kam of Tartary was present, and made a long speech) were brought to look upon a rupture as necessary ; and accordingly the Russian ambassador was clapt up in the castle of the Seven Towers, according to the practice of the Turks in such cases, about the middle of November 1710, just at the time when the new Vizier Baltagi was advanced to his office.

*The Czar
prepares
for war.*

No sooner did the Czar hear of this step, but he began to make preparations for his own defence. Yet willing, if possible, to prevent a rupture, he wrote several letters to the Sultan, offering to refer their differences to other potentates. He received no answer to these, but instead thereof, heard that a manifesto was sent to all the officers and governors of the Ottoman Empire, commanding them to prepare for the ensuing war. Upon this he gave orders for the defence of Asoph, and sent thither vice admiral Vander Cruys, with 300 good sea-officers, leaving to Prince Menzikoff the command of all his forces in Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. He then set out in person for Moscow, the more readily to attend his new levies, and to dispatch an army into the Ukrania. The generals Repnin, Allard, and Galliczin, conducted cross Poland, in three columns, the best part of his troops that were in Samogitia and Lithuania ; which he soon increased to 100,000 men, by ordering one in four of all that were able to bear arms, and the second of all the valets of the nobility, to repair to his standard. Apaka Taquin, Prince of the Kalmucks, sent him 25,000 men ; and Prince Romanowski

advanced against the Tartars with the militia, which made the whole army 150,000, exclusive of Prince Menzikoff's force. His Majesty also published a manifesto, setting forth at large the infidelity and treachery of the Turks, and asserting the justice of his own cause. And as the Sultan had sent an aga to Vienna, to prevent the Emperor's taking umbrage at this rupture with the Czar, his Russian Majesty transmitted thither a short declaration, that it might be communicated to the Turkish minister, and vindicate himself in case his proposals were disregarded. As this piece contains a brief deduction of the whole quarrel, I chuse rather to give it a place, than represent the particulars of it in other words.

“ **W**Hereas we have received information, *His declaration concerning it.* from divers places, that the Ottoman Porte endeavours to justify the violation of peace, by a war already declared against us, and actually begun by the irruption of the Tartars into our territories: and for that purpose, charges us with several groundless matters, by which they pretend, they were forced to come to a rupture; and amongst others, as if we were not inclined to continue in peace with them, but had actually resolved to begin a war: as also, that contrary to the peace concluded with the Ottomans, we had erected several new fortifications on our frontiers; suffered our troops to enter the Turkish dominions; and that we would not give them leave to convoy the King of Sweden in safety back to his own territories: we have thought it necessary to declare here openly, that we never had the least intention to break, in any manner whatsoever, the peace concluded between us and the Ottoman Porte, and to enter into a war with the Turks; but the same has hitherto been religiously and inviolably observed by us. The fortifications erected by us, are likewise in no respect against the treaty, but upon

upon our own territories, which partly belonged to us of old, and partly were yielded to us by the treaty, and the limits marked out by the commissaries on both sides, which have been fixed many years ago: and it is therefore to be wondered, that the Porte should take occasion to complain thereof at this juncture. Our troops never entered on the Turkish dominions, but remained only upon the frontiers; and although they did some time ago, according to the laws of war, pursue their enemy into the Turkish territories, and seized them therein; which, however, was done in such places, where there were no inhabitants; yet all this, as well as other matters, were fully settled and adjusted, in the confirmation of peace renewed last year, whereby the Porte did likewise stipulate with our ambassador, that they should convoy the King of Sweden with 500 Turks, thro' Poland, and that we should guard him by our officers from the frontiers; to which we not only consented, but also promised to procure the like consent from the king and republick of Poland. But this being not accepted by the Porte, on the account of several pretences, we did at last, in two of our letters to the Sultan, and by our ambassador and privy-councillor Tolstoi at Constantinople, declare that we would suffer the King of Sweden to pass thro' Poland free and unmolested, into his own dominions; and to that end, did permit him a guard of 5000 Turks, to send him safe thro' Poland; whereby our peaceable temper sufficiently appears, and that on our part, we have contributed whatever might prevent all manner of disturbance, and maintain a good correspondence, and neighbourly friendship with the Ottoman Porte: And that all the world may be sensible thereof, we confirm here, with our former declaration, an offer, before a tedious war be commenced, to accommodate matters with the Porte, and to live in a neighbourly amity with her, as formerly: and

not-

notwithstanding, in order to provide for our preservation and security, (after we have been informed from all parts of a rupture, and that the war is actually declared against us at Constantinople, and our ambassador carried prisoner to the Seven Towers,) we have caused our troops to march to the Turkish frontiers; they shall, however, not undertake any hostilities, provided the Turks live on their part peaceably; put a stop to all preparations of war, and set our ambassador, with all his retinue, at liberty: and we will, as soon as we are sufficiently assured of these things by the Ottoman Porte, order our forces to withdraw from the frontiers, and facilitate, as much as in us lies, a friendly accommodation. So we willingly accept, and herewith desire the mediation of his Imperial Majesty, her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and their high Mightinesses the States General. But in case the Porte, without any occasion given her by us, should persist in her resolution to break the peace with us, and begin the war with us; we declare before God, and all the world, that we are excusable, and not guilty of all the blood that may be spilt on this occasion; and we have an entire confidence in God, that he will assist our just cause, and prosper our arms with victory, against an enemy who breaks treaties, and who but a year ago, by so many oaths and promises, confirmed and renewed the peace with us."

Every unprejudiced person must be convinced, from this declaration, that the Czar was forced into this war. There was no avoiding it, and his Majesty made all possible preparations, notwithstanding the business he had already on his hands. The Ram's sudden irruption was attended with bad consequences; he took several small places, penetrated as far as Samara, and burnt 150 small vessels that lay there for transports. His son,

the

*Success of
the Tar-
tars.*

the Sultan Galga, and Potocki palatine of Kiow, advanced along the Borysthenes, distributing manifestos every where as they went, and raising contributions on the country: but at last, sitting down before Bialocerkiew, Prince Galliczin came up before they could take the citadel, put them to flight, killed 5000 of their men, and retook all the prisoners, and the booty they had made.

Marches to Moldavia. * The Czar had created a senate at Moscow the year before, consisting of nine boyars; and having settled with these the affairs of government in his absence, he went directly to the main army, which, with an expedition scarcely credible, marched to the borders of Moldavia, over a tract of near 2000 miles. They were in all about 80,000 men, of whom half at least were horse. The Czar expected Cantemir, Hospodar or Prince of Moldavia, who had lately been so created by the Porte, to join him with all the forces in his power, which he did not doubt would be the greatest part of his subjects. But the Moldavians are often in a different interest from their master, and as the Turks never oppress them, they had rather live under their protection than under that of the Muscovites, who on former occasions had used them ill. It was to little purpose therefore that his Majesty published a manifesto, addressed to them and the Walachians, exhorting them to join and assist him, and promising to come upon the banks of the Danube, in order to redeem them from the Turkish yoke, and establish them in the free enjoyment of their religion and liberties. Nor had the declaration of Cantemir himself, upon his going over to the Czar, any better effect, tho' it threatened the severest penalties on those who assisted the Ottomans.

Is deceived by the Prince of Walachia. Brancovan, Hospodar of Walachia, had also promised to revolt to his Czarish Majesty, as soon as he

* Perry's State of Russia.

he should appear in Moldavia, with 30,000 men. This was a fatal agreement to the Russian Monarch, who, depending on the supplies which Bruncovan was to bring, advanced over the Pruth to Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, where Cantemir indeed joined him; but the other, knowing his stipulation to be discovered at the Porte, made a merit to the Turks of betraying the Czar, and leaving him destitute of provisions, among a people on way his friends. In this situation the Turkish army found him, and his Majesty, pent up between them and the river Pruth, was so sensible of his own danger, that he was heard to say, "I am at least in as bad a condition as my brother Charles was at Pultowa." As the several particulars of this march, and the action and peace that followed it, fill up one of the most remarkable periods of the Czar's life, and the only considerable one wherein he was unfortunate in his own person, I shall relate as many of them as are come to light; for all are not so even to this day.

When his Majesty first came on the borders of Moldavia, victory seemed to attend him. Three thousand Turks that were posted over-against Ruskow, to dispute the passage of Niester, fled before 2000 Muscovite grenadiers, and all the army passed over without molestation. When he came near the Pruth, an advanced party of dragoons, commanded by General Renne, surprised a small garrison near the mouth of that river, where the Turks had made a magazine. It was apparently then his interest to have marched directly to the Danube, and prevented the Ottomans coming over: but the Grand Vizir, after some months of tedious preparation, came forwards with that expedition while the Czar was at Jassy, that he crossed that river above the mouth of the Pruth, before his Majesty well knew him to be upon the road, and surrounded the Russian army, already pretty much reduced, with 150,000 men. Mean while

His successes at first.

His army surrounded

40,000 Tartars galled it on the right, left, and rear, by continual excursions, in which they surprised and carried off many people, and a prodigious number of horses. They also cut off all provisions and intelligence, so that the Czar knew nothing of what the enemy was doing. The Moldavians and Walachians that had joined him, seeing the Turks approach, immediately went over to them; only the Hopodar of Moldavia, with a few other persons of note continued faithful to his Majesty.

*The battle
of the
Pruth.*

The enemy being advanced, appeared at least three times as numerous as the Russians. Hereupon the Czar caused his army to retire, and disposed it behind a line of Chevaux de Frize, where the enemy came up and attacked it. The Turks were received with such a strong and regular fire, that after an action of four-hours, in which the Janissaries were often relieved, they retreated towards evening out of the reach of the Russian artillery. The Russians then enlarged their entrenchments, and posted 10,000 dragoons to defend them against 20,000 Janissaries, who came up the next morning, supported by a large body of horse. This day there was another obstinate engagement, in which abundance of lives were lost, tho' more of the Turks than of the Russians. But the former being still re-inforced, and seeming resolved to carry the lines, and the Tartars at the same time harrassing them in the rear, assisted by 10,000 Turkish foot, his Majesty thought proper to turn the action into a running fight. The men took up the Chevaux de Frize, which they carried by relieving each other, and when the enemy pressed them too closely, threw them down again in a line, and poured in a fresh volley of shot upon them. At last, finding a convenient situation to encamp and entrench, the Czar halted again, and the Turkish infantry coming up, both armies were furiously engaged till night. In those two days
action

action the Turks lost about 12,000 men, and the Russians about 7000. There was yet a probability that the latter would be entirely victorious, had the enemies been all in front; especially as the Turks began to be disheartened, and to call to mind some of their old prophecies, from which they conjectured Providence was against them.

At last the Vizir came up with the whole Turkish army; but dared not to attack the Russian camp, which was defended in front by a morass, on the right wing by a winding branch of the Pruth, and on the left by a hill, which they had entrenched. The indefatigable Count Poniatowski, who was at this time in the Vizir's camp, would have had that minister starve out the Russians, which he might have infallibly done: but the Vizir chose rather to bring up his artillery, and cannonade them in their camp with 50 large field-pieces. The Russians had no possible defence against these; nor could they attempt to cross the river, on account of the whole Tartar army, which now hovered over the opposite shore. In this distress the soldiers and inferior officers were for drawing out immediately, and giving battle in the open field. But the Czar was too prudent a general to risk his whole army, and his own liberty, while he could possibly prevent it, against near ten times the number of men, and who had the advantage too of situation. His Majesty afterwards confessed, that in all his life he never felt so much uneasiness as now. Not a general in the army had presence of mind; on this occasion, to think of any salutary means for their preservation.

* In the midst of this general consternation, the gallant Catharine, already the partner of his Majesty's bed, and who never forsook him in the

*Catharine,
after-
wards*

Y

greatest Czarina,

* *Eloge, &c. par Fontenelle, P. 21. And Voltaire's History.* *saves it.*

greatest extremity, had the good fortune to hit on the expedient wanted. She held a private council with the general officers, and the Vice-Chancellor Schaffirof, in which she proposed the sending a letter to the Vizir, to sue for peace. They all came into her sentiment, and the Vice-Chancellor wrote a letter in his master's name. The Czar had shut himself up in his tent, commanded that no-body should come near him, and, in despair of relief, without provisions for one day's subsistence, given orders for an attack the next morning, with bayonets at the end of the soldiers muskets. Catharine, notwithstanding his prohibition, boldly carried in the letter, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to sign it. She instantly sent it away, accompanied, some say, with all her own money and jewels, and whatever she could borrow from the general officers; but de la Motraye, who was in the Turkish camp, denies that any other presents were brought than some fine skins of fables. However that was, the message opened the way for a treaty, and his Majesty's wisdom accomplished all the rest. Schaffirof was admitted to the Vizir's tent, whose first demand was, that the Czar with his whole army should surrender at discretion. *My Master, says the Chancellor, intends to give you battle in a quarter of an hour, and all his men will sooner be cut in pieces than submit to dishonourable conditions.* Osman Aga, the Vizir's lieutenant, seconded the Russian minister; and as the Vizir himself was no soldier, he thought it safer to take the advice of one that was, than hazard a battle with troops who must needs be desperate. He granted a truce for six hours, and in that time a treaty was concluded, by which the Czar agreed to give up Asoph, with its territories and districts; to demolish Taiganrog, and other forts which he had erected on the Turkish side; not to concern himself with the affairs of Poland, nor with the Cossacks

Peace concluded.

Cossacks who had been under the Porte; to grant the King of Sweden a free and safe passage, and to release all Turkish prisoners. On these conditions, he had liberty to march off with his whole army, all with their baggage and ammunition, as if they had returned from a victory.

Poniatowski, when he saw the Czar's fate, as he thought, inevitable, had sent post for his master to come to the camp, and feed his eyes with the spectacle of his rival's misfortune. Charles arrived just as the peace was concluded, and was greatly mortified to find the Vizir inflexibly just to his agreement. He begged only 20,000 men, and promised with those to recover the advantage which the other had given away. Poniatowski used all his eloquence to persuade the Turk to a compliance, and urged the Czar's protestations of friendship to the King of Sweden in 1700, at the same time when he was preparing to fall upon his dominions, as a reason for infringing this treaty in the King of Sweden's favour. But all would not do, and the King of Sweden, after a little reproach thrown on the Vizir, scornfully turned round on his heel, and rode back to Bender. This memorable peace was signed on the 21st of July 1711, to the immortal honour of the Czarina (for by that title she was soon after acknowledged) and the entire ruin of all Charles's intrigues, during the two years he had been in Turkey.

The Vizir had insisted, during the treaty, that the Hospodar Cantemir should be delivered up; as a rebel to the Sultan; and most of the Czar's courtiers were for agreeing to it: but his Majesty would by no means consent to sacrifice the life of a Prince, who had already abandoned a principality in his service. The Hospodar was therefore shut up in the Czarina's coach, and the ambassadors were ordered to tell the Turks that he was not in the army; so that the article for surrendering him was thrown out. He continued ever after in

*Which the
K. of Swe-
den endea-
vours in
vain to get
violated.*

high esteem with the Czar, who settled on him several large estates, and a pension of 20,000 roubles *per annum*. Cantemir was a very learned Prince: he wrote a history of the Ottoman, or (as he calls it) Othman Empire, in Greek and Latin, and had a son not long since ambassador at the court of Great Britain.

Other princes under the Czar's protection.

The Czar had two other unfortunate princes under his protection. Conto Cantacuzeno, son by a sister of Prince Cantemir, to the Hospodar of Walachia, who was strangled at Constantinople, was a major-general in the Russian service, and had a pension of 5000 roubles. The other was Militetki Prince of Georgia, who was divested of his sovereignty by the Schah of Persia, and died at Moscow. An only son of this Prince, whom the Czar had promised to restore to his father's dominions, was taken prisoner in the battle of Narva, where he commanded the artillery.

His Czarish Majesty never ceased, during all these transactions, to carry on his designs at Peterburgh, and in particular to prepare a good fleet: but the situation of affairs would not yet suffer him to honour that place with his presence. Since the Swedes would not consent to the execution of the neutrality, as stipulated by the alliance against France, his Czarish Majesty, and the Kings of Poland and Denmark, were no longer obliged to observe it. They all join now in a body, to push General Craffau in Pomerania, where he had lain for some time unmolested. The King of Poland published a long manifesto, in which he set forth the reasons of these new hostilities; urging, that the King of Sweden, notwithstanding what had been concerted for the peace of the Empire, had greatly augmented his army there; had ordered some Danish ships to be attacked, which belonged to provinces included in the neutrality; had protested against the said neutrality; had sent the rebel Smiegelski, with a manifesto from Stanislaus, and some troops

The K. of Poland's manifesto against Sweden.

troops, to make an irruption into Poland, and excite the Poles to rebellion; concluding, that the measures now taken by the Northern Allies, were not contrary to the interest of the Emperor, or of the Allies against France."

The King of Denmark entered Pomerania, with a body of 20,000 men, on the 7th of August, 1711, and being joined in September by 12,000 Saxons, the united troops invested Stralsund. This place, strong by nature, and well fortified, could not be taken without first securing the island of Rugen: but the Swedes having there a powerful army, which they constantly increased by new recruits; being able likewise to bring provisions into the town, and keep the sea open by their fleet; it was found impracticable, after some efforts, to take either the town or the island at this time; tho' 15,000 Muscovites, and a strong Danish fleet, came up before the enterprize was abandoned.

A successful attempt on Stralsund.

Some time was spent on the frontiers of Tartary, in settling matters with the Turks according to the treaty, before the Czar could appear personally in these Western parts. At last he arrived at Warsaw in Poland; went from thence to Carlsbad, where he drank the waters; proceeded next to Dresden; and having concluded a negotiation with the King of Prussia's minister, arrived at Targau on the 24th of October. Here he staid to solemnize the nuptials of his only son, with the Princess Charlotta-Christina-Sophia of Brunswick Wolfenbützel; a match that had been concerted for some time before. The marriage was performed by a Greek priest, with no great ceremony; the Czar utterly refusing all extraordinary pomp and expence, which the Duke of Wolfenbützel would gladly have been at. The consequence of this union was still less happy than the solemnization of it was splendid, as we shall see hereafter. What the Czar drove at in thus varying from

The Czarewicz married.

*The Czar
refused a
seat in the
college of
the Em-
pire.*

the custom of his ancestors, who had seldom or never married their sons out of their own dominions, (besides his general reason of establishing an intercourse with foreign nations,) was in particular to get admission, by his means, into the Diet of the Empire. But this project of his never succeeded; and tho' some time after he offered, as sovereign of Livonia, to receive from the Emperor the investiture of that Dutchy, which had formerly been a fief of the Empire, promising as a member to send 25,000 men for his quota against France; the Diet was too cautious to accept his proposal, pretending that it might engage them in all the quarrels in Poland, but really dreading to have so powerful a Prince admitted into their college.

*Goes to
Peters-
burgh.*

The Czar, immediately after the wedding, set out for Silesia; and at the beginning of November the Czarewitz, with his new consort, departed on the way to Petersburgh. When they came to Koningberg in Prussia, his Czarish Majesty again met them, and they were all magnificently entertained by the governor. They then continued their journey, thro' Riga and Revel, where the Czar was most respectfully received by his new subjects, and arrived in December at Petersburgh, whither his Majesty was now called by some new troubles with the Turks, excited by the Swedish and French factions.

*New broils
with the
Turks.*

It was agreed by the treaty of the Pruth, that the King of Sweden should have free liberty to return to his dominions, and the Vizir did all that he was able to send that Monarch home: but he being soon after deposed, (tho' not, as was pretended, by the King of Sweden's influence) and Charles continuing obstinately resolved that he would not return, but on certain conditions of his own imagining; the Czar, who expected the execution of this part of the treaty, had not been over hasty in performing his own. This was represented to the Sultan, under the administration of a new Vizir, so

so much to his Majesty's disadvantage, that a resolution passed at the Porte for renewing the war, and the circular letters were issued out to the several bashaws. But the vigilance of the Czar and his ministers at Constantinople, prevented the bad consequences of this resolution; his Majesty by ordering Asoph to be immediately demolished, and the ambassadors, by remonstrating their master's case in an audience obtained of the Vizir, in which they were seconded by the English and Dutch ministers. The letter for renewing the war was dated in December 1701, and in the April following a new treaty was concluded between Russia and the Porte, by which the Czar agreed to withdraw his troops out of Poland, and to let the King of Sweden return unmolested to his dominions, when and in what manner the Sultan pleased. Neither party was to erect any forts between Asoph and Ciraski, nor at Kamenieck and Savar; but the Sultan might rebuild the Fort of Cinoli, over-against Asoph. The Czar was to restore, or pay for, 60 pieces of brass cannon that were in Asoph when he took it; and this peace was to continue 25 years, within which time it might be renewed.

*A new
treaty:*

This treaty, concluded and executed with great sincerity on both sides, was a new mortification to the King of Sweden: and as the English and Dutch ministers, Sir Robert Sutton and Count Colyear, were thought to be instrumental in procuring it, that Prince could not help expressing his resentment against them. Sir Robert, in particular, was branded as acting without orders from his mistress, and his Majesty even wrote to England, to accuse him with espousing the Czar's interest, and requiring no less satisfaction than the having him recalled and disgraced.

*For which
the K. of
Sweden
blames the
English
and Dutch
ministers.*

But neither had these remonstrances any effect against the English minister, nor did the treaty which occasioned them long continue. The Sultan again suffered himself, before the end of the year;

to be prevailed on by the Kam of Tartary, and the French and Swedish ministers, upon the pretence that some Russian troops were still in Poland.

*The Turks
break it :*

This indeed was the only article in which the treaty of Moldavia was not precisely executed; nor was it fairly infringed even in this, since Elbing and Thorn, the towns his Czarish Majesty held in Poland, were conquests made upon the Swedes, and of right to continue in his possession till the war with Sweden was over. But as the Sultan, at this time, received all his information from persons in the interest of Charles, (one of whom, an aga of the Janissaries, was sent expressly into Poland to learn the truth of the affair) he was made to believe what the faction thought proper. War was actually declared against Russia, and the Czar's two ambassadors, Count Schaffirof and young Czeremetoff, were imprisoned in the Seven Towers. The Sultan came with his whole court to Adrianople, in order to be nearer the place of action. His resentment even fell upon the ambassadors of the Czar's ally King Augustus, who were seized and imprisoned upon the road: it was resolved that Charles should be conducted home with splendor, that Stanislaus should be re-placed on the throne of Poland; and the war, in short, seemed inevitable.

The great actions of sovereigns, which make such a figure on the theatre of life, are often no more than the effects of intrigue, in which the monarch is perhaps the dupe of his own creature. This was now the case with Sultan Achmet, whose favourite, Ali-Coumourgi, having some designs in view, which required the friendship of the Czar, turned the tide of all these preparations, persuaded his master that he had been imposed on by persons in the interest of the King of Sweden, brought over the Vizir and Musti, who had before declared for war, and got the treaty renewed. Augustus, at the same time, found means to gain the Kam

*And re-
new it a-
gain :*

of

of Tartary, the most dangerous enemy the Czar had on that side ; and the King of Sweden, who was big with expectation of his favourite revenge, saw himself at once deserted, and received orders to leave the Turkish territories. Every one is acquainted with his obstinate behaviour on this occasion, and the violent measures the Turks were obliged to take, in order to reduce him to reason. He beheld with regret those ambassadors caressed, who had just before been imprisoned ; and was a witness to the public rejoicings they made in Constantinople, to which all the foreign ministers were invited, upon the anniversary of the battle of Pultowa.

Among the other spectacles, exhibited during this entertainment, were two beautiful figures, each of two hearts united ; the one inscribed, *Long Live the Emperor Peter I. and the Empress Catharine, publicly* and the other, *Long live the Prince Imperial married. Alexis, and the Princess Charlotte.* We have related the marriage of this latter couple, and must here take notice, that the Czar, during the dispute between him and the Turks, had publicly solemnized his marriage with his consort Catharine, to whom he was long before privately betrothed. This ceremony was called his Majesty's Old Wedding, to signify its being only a publication of what was before done ; and the nobility were invited to it under that denomination. The Czar appeared in the habit of an admiral, attended by his sea-officers, two of whom were the bride-men, and who in general had the chief share in the solemnity. It was celebrated at Prince Menzikoff's palace, where the evening was concluded with a splendid ball. The habit of admiral was so much the more proper at this time, as the Muscovites now first began to see a fleet growing up at Petersburg, to which his Majesty contributed not only his personal directions, but even his bodily labour. One ship, of 54 guns, in which himself had

had been chief carpenter, was soon after launched, and called the Pultowa. He also put on the stocks many gallies, a sort of vessels before unknown in those seas, but which were indeed the most proper for the shallow coasts of Sweden and Finland. We shall soon see what use he made of them.

*Steinbock
marches
into Meck-
lenburg.*

Prince Menzikoff was already in Pomerania, at the head of 36,000 men, when his Czarish Majesty arrived there, with his consort and son: but as the attempt on Stralsund had failed of success, and the united armies had nothing farther to do this season than to secure themselves behind their lines, and to keep Stetin blocked up, the active spirit of this monarch would not suffer him to attend these slow operations, but carried him away to Berlin, after he had given the command of his troops to King Augustus. Here mutual civilities passed for some days between their Czarish and Prussian Majesties, and then the former set out for Carelsbad, in order to drink the waters, from which he had before received benefit. Mean time Count Steinbock made a sally out of Stralsund, leaving the defence of it to the burghers and a select garrison. It was expected he was going to force the enemies lines; but, instead of that, he took on a sudden, the rout of Mecklenburg, got possession of Rostock, and laid the whole dutchy under heavy contributions. This success of the Swedes, and the hazard there was on both sides in coming to a battle, induced King Augustus to think of a cessation of arms, which was agreed to for three months.

This separate agreement of the King of Poland a little startled the Czar and the King of Denmark, who began to suspect him of carrying on a private treaty. The Danish monarch was then coming back from the dutchy of Bremen, where he had bombarded Stade, * a strong town on the Elbe,

Elbe, and obliged the garrison, after a vigorous defence, to surrender at discretion, before Count Steinbock could come up to their assistance. He had burnt the place to ashes, which served Steinbock soon after for a pretence to exercise a much greater cruelty. His Majesty's intention was, to join as soon as possible the Muscovite troops, which were also advancing to meet him: but he had the misfortune to be strengthened only by a few Saxon squadrons, before the Swedish General came up with him, on the 20th of December 1712, at a place called Gadebush, near a river of that name in the Dutchy of Mecklenburg. *The battle of Gadebush.* The Danes and Saxons were posted with a morass between them, and a wood before, which, with the superiority of their numbers, gave them all possible advantage. Steinbock notwithstanding led on his troops, which were about 12,000, over the morass, thro' the fire of the Danish artillery, and began one of the most bloody engagements that had ever happened between the two nations. After an action of three hours, the Swedes remained masters of the field, having entirely routed the Danes.

As the Saxons did not engage, they made the best of their way to rejoin the Russians, that they might be in a condition together to oppose the victors, who it was now thought would attempt to penetrate into Poland. But Count Steinbock, far from doing as they expected, and as in policy he ought to have done, turned away towards Holstein, in order to take up his quarters in the King of Denmark's territories, for which he had the directions of the Swedish regency. Here the first thing he attempted was upon the town of Altena, *Altena burnt.* which stood a little below the city of Hamburg, and by the encouragement of its sovereign, the King of Denmark, was become no insignificant rival in trade to that famous mart. Steinbock per-

peremptorily summoned the inhabitants to evacuate the place with their effects, telling them he was resolved to destroy it immediately. The magistrates fell on their knees before him, and offered him 100,000 crowns for the ransom of their town: but he insisted upon twice that sum, and as they could not instantly raise it, the soldiers, who had already their torches lighted, began to kindle the flames. A strong north wind assisted them, and by 10 o'clock in the morning, on the 10th of January 1713, there was scarce any sign of a building, where the midnight before stood a large and populous town. Bed-ridden old-people, and women newly delivered, were obliged to escape into the fields, where most of them perished by the extreme cold weather. Not a soul of them could get admitted into Hamburgh; for which the Hamburghers pretended the infectious distempers that had been in Altena; but were suspected of acting thus from another motive, that mean one of utterly suppressing the people they had feared.

Steinbock excused himself to the generals of Poland and Denmark, and the ministers of other powers, who complained of this unwarranted piece of cruelty, by urging what the Danes had before done at Stade, tho' indeed that was far from being a parallel case. "War, he said, was not the theatre of lenity and moderation; nor was Lewis XIV. who permitted the burning of the Palatinate, or Marshal Turenne who executed it, ever thought more barbarous than other men. If there was any blame in such things, the charge must fall upon the northern Allies, and not on him, who had but followed their example."

*A Persian
ambassador
at Moscow*

While the Swedes and their enemies were acting on these terms of violence against each other, his Czarish Majesty had the pleasure to see all his great designs going forwards at home, and to hear that the fame of his actions had reached the cen-

ter

ter of all Asia, and brought an ambassador from Persia to Moscow, where he had made a most magnificent entry, and now waited his Majesty's return. The Czar however did not go thither immediately, but having first concerted the operations of the next campaign, paid a visit to the unhappy remnant of the inhabitants of Altena. He greatly compassionated their distressed condition, distributed 1000 rubles among their poor, and promised them considerable privileges in their trade with his subjects.

About this time the Starost Grudzinski, who had *Several* gone over to the King of Sweden, made an ir- *advanta-*ruption into Poland, surprised General Baur's re- *ges lost to*giment, and met with such success, that if the *the Swedes* King of Sweden and Stanislaus had been there in *by their* person, the latter in all likelihood would have re- *King's ab-*gained the throne. But the insurmountable obsti- *sence.* nacy of Charles, which kept him still a voluntary exile in a remote country, defeated all the good effects of the advantages gained by his troops, was the reason that Grudzinski was again surprised in his turn, and that Steinbock himself lost by piece-meal, all that he had gained in several great actions. Such a fatal influence has the absence of a chief upon all military affairs, and so contrary was the conduct of the Swedish to that of the Russian monarch, whose want of prudence never threw a shade over the lustre of his valour, except we allow (what may yet be disputed) it did so in the fatal action at the river Pruth.

The troops of the Allies now advanced by several ways, in order as well to enclose the Swedes, as to be able to join on a proper occasion. Four thousand Russians, under General Baur, carried the bridge of Hollingstedt, which was defended by a party of Swedes, made several prisoners, and afterwards broke down the bridge. Steinbock, upon this, perceived the mistake in his own conduct, and had no way to prevent his immediate ruin, but by

*The Czar
takes Fre-
derick-
stadt.*

intrenching himself between Frederickstadt, Husum, and Tonningen. Hither the Czar advanced, and on the 12th of February, at the head of only five battalions and some dragoons, attacked and became master of the entrenchments: Upon which the garrison at Frederickstadt betaking themselves to flight, his Majesty took possession of the town, with all the enemies baggage, and about 300 prisoners. The distress to which General Steinbock was now reduced, occasioned that famous retreat into Tonningen, which not only for that season put an end to all action in the field, but gave a pretext for the sequestration of the Duke of Holstein's estates, that Prince being then a minor.

*Steinbock's
retreat in-
to Tonning-
gen.*

* The bishop of Lubeck, uncle to the Duke, governed this unhappy and divided country, under the name of administrator; and being willing at the same time to prevent the loss of the Swedish army, to preserve the appearance of a neutrality, and to avert the war from the dominions of his pupil, he had recourse to artifice, the mean and dangerous refuge of weak minds. When Steinbock demanded of him admittance into the castle of Tonningen, he ordered Wolf the governor to receive the Swedish troops, but never to own he had any such order, and take all the blame of the action on himself. They were accordingly admitted; but the Duke, the administrator, and Steinbock, all paid dearly for their contrivance: for the Czar, with the Kings of Denmark and Poland, resenting this infraction of the neutrality, formed the blockade of Tonningen, and so effectually kept all provisions from the little Swedish army, (which still consisted of about 10,000 men, including the sick and wounded) that the General was obliged, on the 17th of March 1713, to surrender that and himself to the King of Denmark. It was in vain that he pretended he had got into the town by stra-

* M. de Voltaire.

stratagem, and that the governor swore the same: *He surrenders with his army.*
 a copy of the treaty was found among the general's papers, and Wolf afterwards confessed the secret. It was in vain that the administrator applied to the courts of Berlin and Hanover, to beg their mediation with the King of Denmark; who was glad of this occasion to seize the young Prince's territories, most of which he has kept ever since. Pomerania, all but Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and some neighbouring places, fell immediately after into the hands of the Allies, and were sequestered in the keeping of the King of Prussia. At the same time the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, since made over to the Elector of Hanover, were filled with Danish garrisons.

Whatever was conquered on that side, tho' by the troops of the Czar, was got only for those Allies who were members of the Empire; a rank which his Majesty had not been able to obtain. This made him the more intent on another part of the war, in which, as he acted alone against the enemy, so he had no rival in his claim on the new acquisitions. He left Tonningen even before Steinbock surrendered, and assured his Allies that he would find work for the Swedes on the side of Finland. In his way home he took the courts of Hanover, Wolfenbittel, and Prussia, conversed with the sovereigns of each, and was particularly charmed with the Princess dowager Sophia, at that time heir to the crown of Great Britain: then posting from thence to Dantzick and Koningsberg, he found the Czarina at Riga, newly delivered of a Princess, whom he called Maria Petrowna. Prince Menzikoff had the command of the Russian forces, that were left behind in Germany, where he added not a little to the glory of his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of Stetin, taking the isle of Rugen, and driving away the remains of the Swedish troops: then, having in his way raised contributions on the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzick, upon

The Czar returns home.

some pretensions, which soldiers never want, took the road to Petersburg, where the Czar was newly arrived from his expedition in Finland.

*Makes a
descent in
Finland.*

For no sooner was the monarch in his new capital, but he made preparations for a descent on that country. Having got together from Revel, Narva, and other parts, about 200 transports; with these, 20 men of war, and 100 gallies, he set sail from Petersburg, and meeting with a favourable wind, landed 12,000 men at Helsingfors, a small town on the Gulf. General Lubekker, who was posted here with some Swedish troops, made no resistance, but retired precipitately to Abo, the capital of the province. Ill success on the side of the Swedes had quite changed the face of the war, and the terror, which for some years they every where carried, was now transferred to the Muscovites. The Czar forced the passage of Carelsioio, defended by 800 men, and coming up to Abo, found the place abandoned to him. His Majesty took here a very valuable collection of books, which he transferred to his new library at Petersburg.

Takes Abo.

The Swedish army, consisting of 7000 old soldiers, was retreated to the side of Thavaasthus, and there lay strongly intrenched, at a place called the Passage of Pulkona. Lebekker being recalled, General Arnfeldt was sent in his room, and brought with him a large body of new recruits. This addition of strength, and the advantage of their situation, obliged the Russians to halt when they came within sight of their camp, and cover themselves also with an intrenchment. † As there

*The battle
of Pulkona*

was no coming at the enemy in front, the Russian Generals, Apraxin, Butterlin, and Shermishev, attempted to pass over some deep morasses in their rear, that were now covered with water. While the Swedes thought themselves prepared for a long de-

† General Arnfeldt's letter after the battle.

defence, advice was brought their General that 7000 Muscovites were coming over about a quarter of a league behind them, having got together a number of boats, pontoons, and floats of timber. Arnfeldt posted a party of horse where he expected them to land, with a large body of foot to support it. But the wind turning in favour of the Russians, brought such a thick fog upon the Swedes, that they did not perceive their enemy till Prince Galliczin attacked their horse, and obliged them to retire. The 7000 men were almost landed before General Arnfeldt came up with the foot, when a warm action instantly began. At the first charge of the Swedish infantry, some of the Russians were driven back into the water; but these soon recovering their ground, after an action of four hours, the intrenchments were carried, and the Swedes put to the flight, who retired towards Tammersfort. The Russians lost 700 men in this battle, but slew more of the enemy, took above 200 prisoners, with several pieces of cannon, and eight colours. The Swedes would have rallied soon after the fight, had not Prince Galliczin pursued them, and given them another rout near Lapla, where Arnfeldt had again intrenched; but could not now make head any longer. The whole province of Finland soon fell into the hands of the Czar, who immediately fortified Thavalthus, to prevent the Swedes from penetrating into it again.

The Czar was not present in the battle of Pulkona, having employed himself in the mean time at sea, where he narrowly escaped being cast away on the rocks. As the country suffered much in this war, his Majesty ordered a manifesto to be published, wherein he charged the continuance of it on the King of Sweden, to whom he had frequently offered peace on very equitable conditions. Then, to make the best use of the present low condition of the enemy, he ordered colonel Schub jof, governor of Wyburg, to attack Nysslot, the chief fortress

Nyſet taken.

of Savolaxia, with a detachment of men from his garrison, and a train of artillery. The governor did it with good ſucceſs, and the place ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the 29th of June 1714.

There had been a congreſs held at Brünſwick ſince the battle of Pulkona, in the intermediate winter; but as the conferences there came to nothing, his Czarish Maſteſty again reſolved on a vigorous proſecution of the war, and to that purpoſe concerted new meaſures with the King of Denmark. In the mean time the arts of peace were not neglected, eſpecially thoſe which regarded the city of Petersburg, whither families from other parts were continually transferred, foreigners were allured by all the baits of encouragement, and where arts and ſciences abundantly flouriſhed. His Maſteſty attempted, at this time, to bring thither the trade which had hitherto been at Archangel; but this could not be fully effected till ſome years after, when the war was entirely over, and the navigation of the Baltick become free and open.

The Czar ſets out a great fleet.

* While Prince Galliczin was in Finland, the Czar put to ſea with a fleet, to make a deſcent on Aland, an iſland about 10 leagues from Stockholm. Europe was ſurpriſed to ſee 30 ſhips of the line, 80 gallies, and 100 half-gallies, with 20,000 men on board, ſet ſail from a place where a few years before was neither ſhip nor harbour. The Swedes were alarmed, and ſent out all the ſtrength they could, under the command of admiral Warträng; who at firſt gained ſome advantages on the coaſt of Abo. Admiral Apraxin commanded the Ruſſians, and the Czar ſerved under him as rear-admiral. They came up to the coaſt of Revel on the 15th of July, and on the 16th they ſaw the Swediſh vice-admiral Lillie, with

with 14 men of war. The Czar, as rear-admiral, desired to be sent with 25 gallies, to take a view of the Swedish fleet; which being granted, and his Majesty judging, upon observation of Wartrang's situation, that their design might be to attack the Russian fleet, he sent for the admiral to come and join him.

Thirty five gallies, in two squadrons, passed by the next day between the Swedish fleet and the shore, and afterwards the whole Russian fleet forced a passage, with the loss of only one galley. Commodore Ismaiewitz, with 20 gallies, blocked up the Swedish rear-admiral, and an officer was sent to summon him to surrender: which the rear-admiral refusing, an action ensued between him and the Russian van-guard, conducted by the Czar in person, which lasted three hours, and ended in the taking of rear-Admiral Ehrenschild, after he had made a most gallant defence. This victory, which was complete, was the more to the Czar's honour, as the Swedish ships that engaged were much larger than the Russian, and threw a greater weight of metal. The Swedes lost near 1000 men, killed and taken, and as many vessels as mounted 116 guns, which, with the prisoners, were sent to Revel. The same day 16,000 Russians were landed in the isle of Aland, where they took prisoners all the Swedish soldiers, and sent them on board the Czar's fleet. His Majesty reduced the fort, and all the strong places in the island, intending to transport thither his troops that were in Finland, and to make a descent in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, at the same time that the King of Denmark landed an army in Schonen. But the season putting an end to all the operations of this year, his Majesty retook the rout of Revel, and returned to Cronslot, with Ehrenschild's ship, three lesser ones, a frigate, and six gallies, all taken in the late action.

From

*For which
he enters
Peters-
burgh in
triumph.*

From Cronslot he sailed in triumph to Peterburgh, followed by his victorious fleet and the ships he had taken. He was received under a triple discharge of 150 cannon. Then going on shore, he made a publick entry thro' the city, with much the same ceremonies as before at Moscow; but with more secret pleasure to himself, as being done amidst 40,000 houses, all of his own raising in ten years time, and for a naval victory won by a nation who till his reign knew not what a fleet was. * This was indeed a new spectacle for Muscovy, and what the Czar himself was perhaps surprised to exhibit so soon. The victors marched under a triumphal arch, and the Czar, who triumphed less as the Sovereign of Russia, than as the author of her marine, and the first who had in person shown the use of it, appeared only in his quality of rear-admiral, in which he had fought. They proceeded to the citadel, where the vice-Czar Romanodowski, seated upon a throne, and surrounded by twelve senators, ordered the rear-admiral to be brought before him, and received at his hands a relation of the battle. Then, after having asked him several questions, with the approbation of the council, he made him a vice-admiral in reward of his services. The slave of the Romans was unnecessary to the Czar Peter's triumph, whose only aim was to make his subjects emulous of merit. It must ever be remembered in these ceremonies, which might otherwise in some particulars appear insipid, that military subordination were one of the novelties the Czar had introduced in Russia; and there could certainly be no way so effectual to recommend the innovation, as by thus submitting to it himself.

*His gene-
rosity to ad-
miral Eh-
renschild.*

The Swedish rear-admiral, who had received seven wounds, was treated by the Czar with the same generosity that General Renschild had been

be.

* Eloge &c. par Fontenelle P. 22.

before. While they were sitting at table together, his Majesty pointed him out to the Russian nobility, as an example of bravery, and fidelity to his master; telling the Swede at the same time, with a smile, that he forgave him the deaths of all the brave Russians he had slain him. There was something inexpressibly grand in his behaviour on these occasions, which is peculiar to souls of the first rank, who alone can love that merit in others for which they value themselves; while weak minds are ever jealous and envious of every reputation but their own.

THE

HISTORY

OF

PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK VII.

From the King of Sweden's return to his dominions, to the death of the Czarewitz.

The K. of Sweden returns home. **T**HE King of Sweden * having at last quitted the Turkish territories, in October 1714, and rode incognito thro' Germany to Stralsund, after performing things at Bender beyond what romance ever feigned, his Czarish Majesty had again this formidable and active enemy to make head against. He was now strengthened

* Eloge, &c. par Fontenelle.

ened however by his Alliance with Denmark; whereas in the war in Poland and the Ukraïn, when Sweden was in a much better condition, he had no assistant. But there was something to be done at home, before this monarch would again venture on a foreign war; and therefore, while the preparations were making, his Majesty went on board one of the Russian vessels, which had a share in the late victory, and was built at Petersburg; where, sitting amidst several old Russians, he addressed a discourse to them to the following effect.

“Is there a man among you, brethren, who thirty years ago thought of being employed with me in the art of ship-building? Who ever dreamed of coming to settle on the shores of the Baltick, in a country conquered by our personal fatigues; to see soldiers and seamen, brave as we now behold, sprung from Russian blood; our sons coming home able men from remote countries; foreign artificers and tradesmen living in our dominions, and the most distant potentates shewing us marks of their esteem? The sciences, which inhabited antiently in Greece, expelled thence by the fatality of the times, spread first in Italy, and afterwards dispersed themselves over the rest of Europe: but the perverseness of our ancestors fixed their utmost limits in Poland, where a better taste in the governors opened the eyes of the commonalty, and made them what the Grecians had been before. If you will but second my designs, endeavour to shake off your blind obedience, and become voluntary agents in the pursuit of knowledge, Muscovy shall now shine forth in her turn. Who knows but the day may one time come, when the arts shall quit their abode in England, France, and Germany, and transfer themselves for some centuries to dwell among us? Let me only recommend to you diligence and devotion, which I am persuaded, even in our life-time, will enable us to

*The Czar's
speech to
the old Rus-
sians.*

put other nations to the blush, and raise to the utmost the glory of the Russian name."

Tho' the old Russians outwardly applauded this speech, they did not yet seem very earnest to improve the contents of it. The Czar, after near twenty years labour, was almost single in his great designs, which no genius but his own could ever have pursued amidst such discouragement. But as the men, especially the elder sort, appeared yet too uncomplying, he wisely concluded that the surest way to prevail on them, was to bring the fair sex, whose opinion and example are seldom ineffectual, to see the beauty of what he proposed. With this view he made an order, that the married nobility, who were in a condition to travel, should take their ladies along with them; and as this gave them a liberty which they had hitherto wanted, the women were infinitely pleased with the injunction, and did not a little contribute to promote the ends of it. We have since beheld yet more: we have seen two women sovereigns of Russia, who of their own choice have pursued the steps which the Czar Peter had trode before them.

Orders the women to travel.

An ambassador from the Usbeck Tartars.

Ascherbi, ambassador from the Kam of Usbeck arrived at Petersburg on the 17th of May, with a retinue of 16 persons. He had an audience of the Czar the next day; in which, after paying his compliments in the Eastern way, he recommended his master to his Majesty's protection; desired that a neighbouring Tartarian Prince, the vassal of Russia, might be enjoined to live in amity with the Usbeks; he offered the Czar 50,000 soldiers on occasion, and some advantageous articles with regard to a trade with China. Then he laid at his Majesty's feet a valuable present of silks and furs, styling him all along *the wise Emperor*; which title, as it is the highest distinction in his country, may shew the good sense of a people whom we are apt to call barbarous. This ambassador was first Minister

to his Master, and had been formerly his governor. He gave pertinent answers to several questions his Majesty put to him, on which the Czar made judicious reflections. M. Weber, his late Majesty's minister at Petersburg as Elector of Hanover, was present at these conferences, and has given a very particular account of them.

It was during the Czar's abode this time at Petersburg, that he instituted the order of St. Catharine, in memory of the service he had received from the Czarina at the river Pruth. That princess, who was chief of the order, and had the liberty of conferring it on what ladies she pleased to honour, appeared first in her collar on St. Andrew's day. The present Czarina continues to wear it as Sovereign, and has lately bestowed it on her royal Highness the Princess of Hesse Cassel, daughter to his Britannic Majesty. A chapter of sister-Knights, all equally illustrious with those I have mentioned, as it adds to the glory of the Great institutor, may it not rival some more antient orders of the other sex?

The administration of the Czar's affairs, chiefly thro' his own necessary absence, had been greatly perverted since the year 1706. * His Majesty searched into the bottom of the disorder; found why his army had suffered so much, and been so ill paid; why so many workmen had miserably perished, trade had so sensibly decayed, and poverty spread over the country. The confusion his finances were in, and the misapplication of monies raised, appeared to be the source of all these misfortunes. The Czar Peter would screen no man from the infamy of his crimes: He instituted a grand inquisition, of which Prince Dolhoruki was president, and the scrutiny was carried on with that severity, that most of the great men in the Empire were found guilty. Menzikoff,

*An inquiry re-
garding the
ministry.*

*

A a

A-

* Present State of Russia. Vol. I.

Apraxin, and Bruce, as their commands in the army kept them continually from Petersburg, excused themselves upon the impossibility of their inspecting the matters under their care, and so threw off part of the blame on their unfaithful servants; but had their purses however well drained to make reparation. The rest, as they had nothing to urge in their own vindication, either underwent some bodily punishment, or were banished to Siberia, and had their estates confiscated.

Improvements at Petersburg.

The same cause which had contributed to this mal-administration, had in some measure retarded the public buildings at Petersburg. But now his Majesty was on the spot, he not only carried on with vigour those that were already begun, but set others on foot. The fortifications were enlarged, the citadel strengthened, and, in short, 40,000 men were found insufficient to carry on the several works: six thousand Swedish prisoners were sent for from the river Wolga, and the peasants of Finland were pressed into the service. In the mean time the encouragement to foreigners was renewed. They had lands given them to build on, and were exempted from taxes for ten years; but, whereas a great part of the houses were hitherto of wood, all who built for the future were enjoined to use only brick for the walls, and tiles for the roofs. Near 12,000 families were at this time introduced here from other places, and among them the Czar John's widow, with the Princesses her daughters.

When his Majesty was the last year in Holstein, to animate the war there against the Swedes, he had spent a great part of his time in making observations of various kinds. * He had caused his engineers to take the plan of every city, and the designs of all the different mills and machines which were not in Russia. He had informed him-

self

* *Eloge, &c. par Fontenelle.*

self of every particular relating to husbandry, as well as the mechanicks. At the city of Gottorp, which then belonged to the King of Denmark, he saw the famous globe, celestial and terrestrial, that was made from a design of Tycho Brahe, and so large that twelve persons might sit within side of it, round a table, and make their observations by turning it about. A curiosity so extraordinary could not but strike a man of Peter's temper, and make him desirous to have it in his own possession; nor could the King of Denmark deny it to his request. The great difficulty was how to get it home without damage, which was done first by conveying it in a frigate to Prussia, and from thence in a great sled over the snow to Riga, where it was again shipped for Petersburg. A large room was built there on purpose to receive it, for the use of the astronomers.

*The Globe
of Gottorp
brought to
Petersburg*

Tho' the Northern war still continued, the disposition of things with regard to the Czar was so altered, that all the difficulties of it might be said to be surmounted. I shall be the more brief therefore in the history of his following Campaigns, which, as they do not afford such a variety of action as the preceeding, so are the affairs of them more complicated with those of other nations. The Czar did not now fight to conquer, but to secure the possession of what he had conquered by an advantageous peace.

The King of Sweden, upon his return home, found himself surrounded with new enemies. The same obstinate temper that kept him from treating when in exile, occasioned him, the next day after his arrival at Stralsund, to give orders for renewing the military preparations, tho' he was then shut up in almost the only town that was left him of all his foreign dominions. He demanded the restitution of Pomerania, in very high terms, of the King of Prussia, in whose hands it had been sequestered by the Allies. This demand procured a

*The K. of
Sweden's
enemies.*

manifesto from that Prince, in which he set forth the reasons of his not complying with it, and asserted the justice of what he had done. Mean while the Prussian forces, with the Danes and Saxons, in all 36,000 men, invested Charles in Stralsund; the troops of Hanover, and others of Denmark, laid siege to Wismar; the Czar, with 20 men of war, and 150 transports, having on board 30,000 soldiers, kept the Baltick, and hovered over the coasts of Sweden.

Never was a place attacked or defended with more bravery than Stralsund. According to the accounts of persons who were there, the actions performed by the King of Sweden, as well in the town as in the isle of Rugen, almost surpass belief, and were equalled only by what himself had done before. When the enemy had been two days in possession of the horn-work, and there was no possibility of a longer defence, he made his escape in a little bark, with only ten men, the ice being broke to let the vessel out; and in this manner he passed under a battery of twelve cannon. The next day, which was the 21st of December, Stralsund surrendered, and the King arrived safe at Isted in Schonen. Wismar capitulated on the 24th of February following; which left the Allies no more to do on that side the Baltick, and every one expected to see them invade Sweden itself.

*Stralsund
and Wis-
mar taken.*

*The entire
ruin of
Sweden
how pre-
vented.*

Tho' the Czar had hitherto done more than all the rest in the prosecution of this war, it was now owing to him that King Charles was not utterly ruined. At the same time that the Danes and Prussians could not conquer without him, they seemed resolved to let him have no share in their victories. His Majesty had sent into Pomerania 12 or 15,000 men, under Prince Czeremetoff, to facilitate the taking of the invested towns, and expected to have Wismar put into the hands of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, then newly married to his niece, that the Russians might always have a retreat for
their

their ships on that side: but so far were his desires from being complied with, that his troops were not even suffered to appear in the siege. This, and some other signs of diffidence that for two years past had been shewn the Czar, made him grow cold in a quarrel which it was no longer his interest to continue, and prevented his making a descent on Sweden, tho' he had it entirely in his power. Thus the jealousy of the Czar's Allies provoked him to spare an inveterate enemy, whom else he must have destroyed in his own defence; unless, what was not then likely, he could at last have persuaded him into pacific measures. All the Russian forces did this winter, was to make a few other conquests in Finland, where the Swedes that remained were shut up in the fortress of Cajaneburg, situated on an inaccessible rock.

Having taken this view of the State of the war, I must turn back a little to some other affairs, which passed during his Majesty's residence at Petersburgh. He not only set up a new academy there, for riding, mathematicks, and foreign languages; but took as much pains to know the true state of other countries, as to reform that of his own. † With this view he sent M. Artiem Wolinski his ambassador into Persia, accompanied by *A Russian* several learned men, with instructions to get all *ambassador* possible information concerning the strength, extent, and condition of that Empire. A very laudable curiosity this, and well deserving the expence of an embassy! but perhaps the reader may not be displeased to hear of two foreign ministers that arrived in the Czar's dominions, the one at the beginning, the other about the end of the same year, on very different errands. The first was *Two very odd embassies.* from the Kam of the Kalmucks to Prince Menzikoff, who had some time before presented the Kam with an English-made coach. One of the wheels of this

A a 3

ma-

† Present state of Russia, Vol. I.

machine was broke, and the subject of the embassy was, to intreat that his Highness would send the monarch a new one. The other was from the Emperor of China to Gagarin, governor of Siberia, praying that he would send him an able physician, and some medicines that would provoke to venery. Mr. Garwin, an English Surgeon, went to China on this occasion, carrying with him the drugs desired.

*Petty
broils on
the fron-
tries of
Russia fre-
quent.*

As Russia is a country of such vast extent, there never passes a year without some alarms on the frontiers; which very little, if at all, affect the Court, and sometimes are even over before the news of them come thither. The petty Tartar Princes who are under the Czar's protection, and those who are tributary to other monarchs, frequently decide their differences between themselves, or with very little assistance from the Russian governors. Thus there have been wars for years together between the vassals of Russia and those of China, without the Emperors on either side engaging themselves, or their own proper forces therein; and at last peace has been made, and the limits fixed, by the Lieutenants on either part. The Cossack, Cuban, and other Tartar nations, are often in arms to throw off their allegiance, and as often suppressed with little loss. For this reason I have omitted most of the insurrections of these people, as they were not attended with any consequence worthy a place in History; and shall only just observe here, that somewhat of this nature happened this winter; that the Kam of Cuban's son was hanged; and a great many men and horses taken.

The most dangerous of all these irruptions are from the Tartars who are vassals to the Porte, by which they are usually spirited up and supported: and this is frequently the prelude to a rupture between the two Empires. The Czar apprehended they might attempt something this year in Poland, where affairs were yet in great confusion, and ordered

dered some regiments that way to have an eye over them. But his Majesty refused to carry his arms into that kingdom, tho' Augustus applied to him for succour against his mal-content subjects; chusing rather the peaceable province of becoming a mediator between the King and the Republick; an honour, says M. de Voltaire, perhaps equal to that of setting up a king. M. Darzow and Prince Dolhoruki were his plenipotentiaries on this occasion; but the negotiations lasted a long time.

The Czar a mediator between Augustus and his kingdom.

I before mentioned the marriage of the Czarewitz with the Princess of Wolfenbittel, and just hinted at the misfortunes of that amicable Princess, * who, by the gracefulness of her person, the submission she shewed to their Majesties, and her uncommon humanity to all sorts of people, had commanded veneration from every rank and degree. She had the year before born a daughter to her husband, at a time when he was absent at Carlisbad in Germany, whither it was thought he went purely to be out of the way. On the 22d of October 1715, she was delivered of a prince, who after his Majesty was christen'd Peter, and who succeeded the Empress Catharine by the name of Peter II. But at the same time that Russia had a monarch given her, she lost one of the greatest ornaments she had ever enjoyed. The Princess died on the 1st of November, in the 21st year of her age, having for five days before endured the most acute pains, and yet kept up a spirit of fervent devotion, giving comfort and admonitions to her weeping servants, who joined in prayer for her departing soul.

Birth of Peter II. and death of his mother.

There is something uncommonly affecting in the history of this lady, as it is given us by M. Weber, who knew her personally, and was at Peterburgh when she died. The Czarewitz knew it was his father's intention, as well to reclaim him from his

History of that Princess.

his indolent wicked course, as to make an alliance in the Empire, to marry him with a German Princess of high rank and generous education. But the depravity of the son's conduct had almost weaned the father of his paternal affection, and made him drop some intimations, that unless he gave timely hopes of amendment, he should be deprived of the succession, and thrust into a convent. Tho' he had an aversion to all foreigners, the young Prince was wrought upon by his favourites, on the sight of his own danger, seemingly to fall in with his father's sentiment, and desire leave to make the tour of Germany, in order to chuse him a consort; declaring his resolution to lead a new course of life. The Czar joyfully gave his consent, and the marriage was performed at Torgau, as before related.

*Her cruel
usage from
her hus-
band.* No sooner was the young couple arrived in Russia, but the Czarewitz made himself a mere stranger to his beautiful Princess. He never shewed her the least complaisance, nor even spoke to her in public company. As they lived in separate wings of their palaces, they seldom saw one another once a week, and had not the Czarewitz looked upon the begetting of an heir as necessary to his own support, they had been quite invisible to each other. Even the repair of the house was so neglected, that her Highness was exposed to the injuries of the weather in her own bed-chamber: and if ever the Czar expostulated with him on these matters, he would load her with reproaches as a calumniator; whereas there was no witness of her complaints and tears but the Princess of East Friesland her companion, and the walls of her apartments. Mean while the Czarewitz kept a Finlandish captive in the house as a mistress, and was never out of her company night or day. Thus did affairs continue till the Princess lay in, when, partly by the neglect of her midwives, and partly thro' the affliction of her mind, she was 6 days after delivery

livery seized with such a violent indisposition, that every one despaired of her life.

The Czarina was herself so near her time, that she durst not venture to pay a visit to her dying daughter-in-law. The Czar was likewise ill: but, at the desire of the Princess, he was brought to see her upon a rolling machine. She took her leave of him in the most moving expressions, and recommended her children and servants to his protection. Then embracing her infants with all the signs of maternal tenderness, she with tears delivered them to her husband, who immediately carried them to his own apartment, and never returned to her again. It was impossible life could now be desirable. She would not be persuaded to take any more medicines, but flung the phials behind the bed, and said to her physicians with some emotion, *Let me die in quiet, for I will live no longer.* This unfortunate Princess was sister to the present Empress of Germany, and had been married just 4 years and 6 days. She was buried on the 7th of November, and the next day the Czarina was also delivered of a son, who on the 17th was christen'd Peter Petrowitz. As the Czar was determined to cut off his eldest son, unless he gave visible signs of a reformation, he was exceedingly transported that Heaven had given him another; and indeed the public grief, for the death of the Princess, was almost sunk in the joy for the birth of a young prince; which was solemnized, by his Majesty's order, for 8 days successively.

*A son born
to the Czar*

The Czar and Czarina set out for Germany on the 6th of February 1716. It was in his way thither, at Dantzick, that he solemnized the marriage of his niece, the Princess Catharine before mentioned, with the Duke of Mecklenburg. The King of Poland made a splendid entertainment on this occasion, at which the Czar assisted; and setting out for Koningsberg, where part of his fleet was arrived, he gave audience to a Persian ambassador, who had

*The Czar
goes into
Germany.*

been

been in France about two years. His ministers had orders, during his absence, to offer certain articles to the Dantzickers, who had acted very equivocally during the whole war, and to declare them enemies in case of non-compliance. The chief of them were, “ That they should have no commerce with Sweden; and “ That they should furnish 4 privateers of 50 men each, or 200,000 rix-dollars in specie. But the King of Poland compounded the matter for them for 100,000 rix-dollars, the maintainance of 4 ships which he would furnish, and the renunciation of commerce with Sweden: so that the Czar, at his return, was received there with great honours.

Has an interview with two kings.

At Stolpe, in the way to Stetin, his Majesty had an interview with the King of Prussia, in which it was agreed to oppose any invasions of the Swedes on the King of Denmark's territories, which they were ready to enter; but at the same time not to assist the Danes in making conquests on Sweden, which was already sufficiently reduced. The Czar then proceeded to Altena, where he was met by the Danish Monarch, who continued with him for some time in the neighbourhood of that place. Here was concerted the famous descent on Schoënen, in order to draw the King of Sweden out of Norway, into which he was now penetrated with 24,000 men. M. de Voltaire observes, that the world had not seen any general since Hannibal, who, when he could not make head against his enemies at home, went to attack them in their own dominions. But King Charles seemed little to regard what he lost, provided he could still conquer. Barren rocks, amid snow and ice, were more pleasant to him, when taken from an enemy, than the beautiful provinces he had been stripped of in the East and South.

The Czar at Copenhagen.

From the Dutchy of Holstein the Czar and Czarina went to Copenhagen, where they spent three months

months in the diversions of the Danish court. * But at the same time that these were outwardly the Czar's employment, he visited all the colleges, all the academies, and every private man who had acquired reputation in the learned world. There was no manner of ceremony in these visits, and it was just the same to the Czar Peter whether the student waited upon him, or he upon the student. Every day he went out in boats, with two engineers, upon the coasts of Denmark and Sweden, measuring all their bays, sounding all their depths, and making such exact charts of the whole, that not the smallest bank of sand escaped his notice. It was a proof that his Ally had the highest veneration for his person and genius, since he did not attempt to hinder his getting these exact informations, which were almost enough to have excited jealousy.

There was a yet greater token of respect shewn to Peter the Great, during his residence at Copenhagen, when nations the most experienced in naval affairs paid their submission to him, the first Russian who had ever known the sea. The English and Dutch squadrons, under Sir John Norris and Commodore Grave, arrived in the Sound to join the Russians and Danes, and all the flag-officers unanimously agreed to confer on him the command of this united fleet of four nations. In this quality the Czar hoisted his flag, on the 13th of August, on board one of his finest ships; and his Majesty declared that he never in his life had more satisfaction than in receiving this honour.

Notwithstanding that measures were so well concerted, and the defence of Norway neglected in favour of the intended descent, the orders for it were on a sudden countermanded, after the necessary dispositions had been agreed on, in a council of war between the two monarchs. All Europe was

*Commands
the fleets of
four na-
tions.*

*Lays aside
the descent
on Schonen*

* I loge par Fontenelle.

was amazed at this behaviour in the Czar, who coldly alledged that the season was too far spent. The King of Denmark complained aloud of this breach of articles, in a manifesto, which leaves “ Providence and time to discover what might have induced his Russian Majesty to take a step so prejudicial to the Northern alliance.” In the mean time no one doubted but he had very strong reasons for this piece of conduct, tho’ they were not as yet apparent.

The reasons why he did so.

The King of Denmark was doubtless the first who proposed this invasion, and the Czar readily came into it, as the only apparent means at that time of bringing the King of Sweden to terms. But after he saw, from repeated instances, that of all the Allies his interest was the least regarded, and that the only way to secure himself was to depend less upon others; he began to look with another eye on this attempt, which might possibly cost him the flower of his troops, and, if successful, would procure a peace for the rest, and bring the whole weight of the war again on himself. In this situation, it would have been hard for him to keep his new acquisitions; as probably one article of a separate agreement might be to assist the Swedes to regain them, and so he would not only be left in the lurch, but pushed by those very allies whom he had hitherto supported. An accommodation between him and the King of Sweden, he knew, would be very hard to bring about: for as, on the one side, he should never consent to part with those sea-ports, which were so necessary for carrying on his vast designs; so the King of Sweden, on the other, would use all possible means to get them restored. But then the Czar was so well acquainted with the heroic temper of his enemy, that he had some hopes of working upon it by a nicety of honour. The King of Sweden, he rightly judged, must be now less exasperated against him, who had all along carried on the war with
various

various success, and frequently made overtures of peace, than with the rest of the Confederates, who, in breach of treaties, had taken the advantage of his misfortunes, fell upon him in an ungenerous manner, and made a partition of his provinces.

It is one great character of a true politician, *His manner of working on the King of Sweden:* that he knows how to accommodate himself to the genius of an adversary. The rest of the Allies, on all occasions, had used the most unbecoming reproaches against the King of Sweden: but the Czar, on the contrary, always spoke of his brother Charles with the utmost civility, maintained him to be the greatest General in Europe, and even publicly averred, that he would trust more to a word from him, than to the strongest assurances, and even treaties, from some others. These kind of civilities, he had good reason to think, would make a deep impression on the mind of that gallant hero, and persuade him rather to sacrifice a real interest to a generous enemy, than to gratify, in things of less moment, those by whom he had been inhumanly used. And if this did not succeed, he should however make his Confederates uneasy by seeming inclined to come to a negotiation, which must engage them to be the more solicitous to keep him in the alliance, by granting such concessions as he should require for his own interest: in the mean time the Danes and Swedes were weakening each other, and his own troops were maintained in the territories of the Allies.

All these particulars were the conjectures of that *Baron Gortz's scheme.* time, tho' no-body at present knew how far they were true. But they were undoubtedly the real sentiments of his Czarish Majesty; and he found in the King of Sweden a greater disposition to favour them than he had at first expected. † Baron Gortz, formerly prime minister to the Duke of Holstein, and now to the King of Sweden, whom

*

B b

he

† Voltaire's history, &c.

he governed more than any man had ever done before, had formed a project for reconciling the courts of Sweden and Russia, and at the same time flattering the high spirit of his master. This man was in the cabinet what Charles was in the army, as capable of disturbing the peace of Europe, and as resolute in the execution of his designs. He had long discovered the Czar's uneasiness at his Allies, and now perceived that he was particularly disgusted with the King of Great Britain, who was at the same time the chief object of his master's resentment, as he was the only one of Charles's enemies whom he had not provoked, and who seemed to have engaged in the alliance only to keep the dutchies of Bremen and Verden. The English ships, which had been sent to the Baltick, did not at all please the Czar; who was uncertain, notwithstanding they came as Allies, for what purpose they were designed.

*Which he
proposes.*

Gortz having weighed all this in his mind, ventured to propose the making a peace between the two rival potentates; insinuating, that Peter Alexiowitz and Charles XII. together, might make all Europe tremble; that by yielding such places to the former as he was already master of, he might make him assist in dethroning Augustus, with whom he was now displeased, and replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; and that by setting the pretender on the throne of England, and restoring the Duke of Holstein to his dominions, all which they might be able to perform, his Majesty would be sufficiently revenged on the Kings of Great Britain and Denmark. Charles, pleased with these grand ideas, gave his minister authority to act at large, who soon found means to see how the court of Muscovy stood affected, by the means of Dr. Arskine, a Scotsman, who was chief physician to the Czar, and entirely in the pretender's interest. Prince Menzikoff, to whom the proposal was first made,

was

was highly pleased; and the Czar came into it. *The Czar comes into it.* The Russian troops were sent to winter in Mecklenburg, instead of passing over into Schonen; and the Czar went thither himself, on pretence of adjusting some disputes between the Duke and his nobility, but in reality, says M. de Voltaire, to gain a principality in the Empire, for which he hoped to make a bargain with the Duke.

Whatever was the Czar's intention, the German Allies were greatly alarmed. They dreaded so potent a neighbour, who might have it in his power to become Emperor, and oppress all the other sovereigns of Germany. The Czar negotiated with them by way of amusement, and at the same time waited to see what Gortz would do, whose project went on the better thro' the resentment of the Allies. He proposed it to cardinal Alberoni, then at the head of affairs in Spain, who was charmed with the project of setting up the pretender in England, but could as yet do little towards effecting it. The ready genius of Gortz contrived *How to be the means, by sending to the pirates at Madagaf- executed* car, who, rejected by all other nations, had al- *with re-* ready offered themselves, with 60 ships, and a *spect to* vast treasure, to the King of Sweden. The King *England.* consented to receive them and their wealth at Gottenburg, provided they would make the descent in Scotland. At the same time the strength of the disaffected was founded in Great Britain. They asked only 10,000 men, and promised to do the rest themselves. They advanced considerable sums, which Gortz received in Holland, (where he was arrived, after having been privately in France) and negotiated with it the purchase of ships and ammunition. In a word, King George was to be deposed from the throne of Great Britain, the Duke of Orleans from the regency of France, and the Turks were to fall upon the Emperor. Count Gillenburg, the Swedish ambassador in London, became an agent with the enemies of

that King he was sent to address. The chevalier de Folard, a soldier of fortune, carried on the project in France, and the branches of it were privately spread all over Europe.

*The Czar
in Holland*

But the main point, without which nothing could be done, was to settle peace with the Czar. Baron Osterman, chief minister in Russia, as Gortz was in Sweden, was more cautious than to come hastily into this scheme; and as the two Princes had hitherto left it all to their servants, the affair by this means was somewhat retarded. Just at this crisis the Czar himself, having made the tour of Hamburg, Hanover, and Wolfenbuttel, came to Holland, in his way to France. Gortz procured two conferences with him at the Hague, and did more in these with his Majesty, than he could have done in six months with his minister. At the same time he talked only of peace, and of regarding the King of Great Britain as arbiter of the North. His designs seemed impenetrable, and he hoped they would be discovered only in the execution.

*Gortz's
project de-
tected by
the D. of
Orleans.*

The Duke of Orleans had spies in all the courts of Europe, and in every corner of the kingdom he governed. By the help of these he got knowledge of the Swedish minister's plot, and communicated it to the King of Great Britain, who immediately ordered Count Gillenburg to be seized in London, and prevailed on the Dutch to do the same by Gortz. But tho' the King was justifiable in arresting an enemy, who had violated the law of nations, the Dutch were not excused by the rest of Europe, because nothing was designed against them, and they had invaded the freedom of ambassadors, merely out of complaisance to an ally. The letters that passed between Gortz and Gillenburg were printed in England, and the conspiracy was too plain to be in the least disputed.

* As the Czar was not named, but only hinted *The Czar* at in these papers, he wrote a long letter to the *excuses* King of Great Britain, which was communicated *himself* by his resident Wesselowski, with protestations of *concerning* friendship. This is an artifice often practised by *it.* Princes to each other, and usually taken in publick for satisfaction, tho' perhaps it is just the reverse. The King neither believed the Czar, nor had the Czar yet done with the King. His Russian Majesty, tho' he had little new to learn, or to introduce among his subjects, had still the curiosity *Goes to* to see France, a country where the sciences have *Paris.* been carried as far, and the pleasures of society farther than any where else, Germany, England, and Holland had formerly seen, and France now saw, the uncommon spectacle of an Emperor travelling for instruction. But his rough outside, the effect of his education and temper, was all the common people ever beheld, while the legislator and the great man escaped their observation.

I shall not give a journal of all that passed during his abode in France. It is sufficient to say that he frequently visited the regent and the young King, and was visited by them; that he saw all that was curious in Paris, and the circumjacent places, where the utmost care was taken to make his entertainment still agreeable. M. de Fontenelle takes notice, that he was particularly charmed with the person of the King, tho' then but an infant; that he often walked with him in the apartments of the Louvre, leading him by the hand, and defending him from the pressure of the mob, with as much tenderness and care as if he had been his governor.

On the 19th of June 1717, he honoured the *Visits the* academy of sciences with his presence. All their *academy of* new experiments, and curious machines, were *sciences.* produced on this occasion, and his Majesty expressed

B b 3

fed

* M. de Voltaire, and M. de Fontenelle,

fed great fatisfaction with them. It may be obferved here, to prevent a digreffion elfewhere, that after his return to Mufcovy, he ordered Mr. Arefkine his chief phyfician to write to the Abbe Bignon, and fignify his defire of being admitted a member of the fociety. The academy fent, with the notice of admiffion, a letter of acknowledgment for the honour done them; to which his Majefty returned an answer with his own hand: and from this time the fociety transmitted him every year a volume of their tranfactions, which belonged to him as a member, which he always received from his brethren in the moft courteous manner. The Sciences, fays the eloquent fecretary of that academy, in favour of which he debafed himfelf to the rank of a private man, ought, in return, to raife him among the Auguftus's and Charlemagnes, who alfo condefcended to become familiar with them.

*His propo-
fal to the
D. of Or-
leans.*

But the Czar had fomething to do at Paris, be- fides feeing the academies, the public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and the royal palaces. In purfuanee of the plan that had been concerted, he made a propofal to the regent, which, tho' it was apparently for the intereft of France as well as his own, was however rejected, and intelligence of it given to King George. It was to make peace with Sweden; to take from the Danes their power in the Baltick; to weaken England by a civil war; to fet up Staniflaus againft Auguftus, and to bring into Mufcovy all the commerce of the North. The Duke did juft the reverfe of all this, and made a treaty with England and the Emperor. All the Czar could attain of him, was to interpoze for the enlargement of the two Swedifh minifters, which was granted in Auguft; and at the fame time the Englifh refident at Stockholm, who had been imprifoned by way of reprisal, was alfo fet

The D. of at liberty.

*Ormond
fent to the
Czar.*

Albertoni, who was mafter of the whole fcheme, and very defirous to eftablifh his religion in Eng- land,

land, sent the Duke of Ormond out of Spain, to Mittaw in Courland, with full commission to treat of a marriage between the pretender and the Princess Anna Petrowna, the Czar's daughter. Baron Gortz had long intended this lady for the Duke of Holstein, who afterwards married her, and this cross step of the two politicians almost defeated their whole scheme. Gortz opposed the Duke of Ormond's negotiation, and got him sent back to Spain without satisfaction. But the Duke left behind him one Jernegean, his confident, a man of sense and spirit, to manage matters privately; which he did a long time at Petersburg, going out only o' nights, and conversing with the Czar's ministers in the habit either of a peasant or a Tartar.

As the Czar, in his return from Paris, was to repass thro' Amsterdam, where he left the Czarina; his Britannic Majesty sent thither admiral Norris and Mr. Whitworth to compliment him, and to return thanks for his having declared that he would withdraw his forces out of the empire. This declaration the Czar had made at Paris, upon the pressing instances of the regent, who had been applied to for that purpose by the northern Allies. The British ministers were also to resume a treaty of commerce between England and Russia, if the Czar had been that way inclined: but the high terms he insisted on, (no less than the sending 15 men of war against Sweden, to act under Russian admirals), rendered the proposition ineffectual. The Czar likewise ordered his forces to withdraw out of Poland, upon the application of the King and the republick. They were sent thither to procure a peace between the still-contending parties; but now, as ever before, became a pretext for continuing their disputes.

*An embassy
from Eng-
land to the
Czar.*

His Czarish Majesty, in his way home, was splendidly entertained at Berlin; and proceeding from thence to Dantzick, he found a new treaty

had

*A treaty
with the
Dantzick-
ers.*

had been just concluded between his ministers and the Dantzickers, which put an end to their long subsisting disputes. The citizens were to forbear all correspondence with Sweden; to fit out three frigates against the enemy; to pay 140,000 dollars in specie, and to receive the Russian vessels in their port: and the Czar was to withdraw his troops out of the territories of Dantzick, and fully discharge the city from all demands.

*The Czar
inquires
into the
mal-admini-
stration
in his ab-
sence.*

When his Majesty arrived at Peterburgh, on the 17th of September 1717, he found many things to redress, especially with regard to the administration. * The senate met every day, to enquire into the ground of the people's complaints, and his Majesty was always present by 4 o'clock in the morning. But as some things appeared to be of a deeper dye than was at first expected, an extraordinary court of justice was established, divided into separate committees, who were to examine the several causes laid before them. This court was made up of military officers, and it was usual, during the sessions of the committees, to see the head of a noble family appear before a Lieutenant as his judge. Wolchinski, governor of Archangel, was shot to death, upon full conviction of his crimes.

*Makes
new regu-
lations.*

Money was at this time very scarce in Russia, which was partly occasioned by the long war, and partly by the many great works the Czar had been carrying on, which, tho' at this day they are very advantageous, were in their infancy not sufficient to defray the expence of them. To remedy this, his Majesty prohibited the wearing of gold and silver lace, discharged many useless mechanics, reduced others to half pay, and set on foot several other methods. But at the same time that he reduced the number of unnecessary workmen, who were but an almost infallible consequence of the

* Present state of Russia, Vol. I.

the great encouragement he had given, his Majesty granted a privilege for many years to a new manufactory of silks, and raised the duties on foreign goods of the same kind. He made a great many other useful regulations, and in particular appointed several councils for the administration of public affairs, like those which the regent had established in France.

Tho' the scheme concerted by Gortz was still bringing to perfection, (as much of it as was not prevented by the discovery at London) yet a shew of friendship continued between the monarchs of Great Britain and Russia. M. Weber, resident from the former as Elector of Hanover, waited upon the Czar, to return him thanks for what he had written to King George by admiral Norris, and to assure him of the King's good dispositions to live in amity. But M. Weber at the same time hinting his master's uneasiness at the conferences the Czar had held in Holland with baron Gortz, the Russian ministers denied that any such interviews had been, tho' soon after they were obliged to own the truth. In the mean time measures were taken for bringing about the treaty between Sweden and Russia, which however was not at this time concluded. The King of Sweden was killed before Frederickshal, while matters were yet in suspense; and baron Gortz, who had a long time been mortally hated by every Swede but the King alone, was executed immediately after.

It will be very proper, at this period, to take a little respite from foreign affairs, and turn to several other effects of the Czar's mighty genius, which, tho' they did not appear all at once, but were accomplished some before and some after the time we are upon, will make a juster figure thrown here together, than scattered chronologically thro' different parts of this history, and interspersed with the more turbulent business of war.

* To

*Addressed
by M. We-
ber.*

*The Czar
Studies the
geography
of his Em-
pire.*

* To extend the power of a state as far as possible, it is necessary that the sovereign should study his country, not as a politician merely, but as a geographer and philosopher; that he should be perfectly acquainted with all its natural advantages, and have the address to turn them to the best account. The Czar was indefatigable in the acquisition of this knowledge, and the pursuit of this art. He did not rely upon ministers, who are seldom over-careful of the publick welfare: he would trust only to his own eyes, and made nothing of a journey of 3 or 400 leagues, to be informed in his proper person. He frequently made these excursions with a retinue of only 3 or 4 attendants, and with such an intrepidity, as was alone capable to secure him from danger. By this means he got so perfectly acquainted with the map of his vast empire, that he easily projected, without hazard of being deceived, all the advantages that might be drawn either from its situation in general, or from whatever was particular to the respective provinces.

As all the Meridians meet under the pole in a single point, the English and Chinese, for example, would become neighbours in the North, provided their kingdoms extended far enough that way. Thus the very northern situation of the Russian Empire, joined to its vast extent, occasions that by its meridional lines it touches the Northern parts of many great countries, which towards the south are very distant from each other. It is contiguous to a great part of Europe, and to all Asia. It has besides very large rivers, which fall into different seas; as the Dwina into the White Sea, a part of the Ocean; the Don into the Black Sea, a part of the Mediterranean; the Wolga into the Caspian, which borders on Great Tartary and Persia. The Czar observed that these rivers, which had hitherto

* Eloge, &c. M. de Fontenelle, p. 25.

therto been almost useless, might unite in his dominions nations the farthest divided, if he only made a communication between them, either by means of the small rivers which fall into them, or by digging of canals from one to the other. He entered on this prodigious undertaking, had the different elevations of the country every where calculated, chose himself the places where the canals ought to be sunk, and regulated the number of sluices.

The use he makes of this knowledge :

The junction of the river Volkona, which runs into the lake Ladoga near Petersburg, with the Wolga, was finished in his life-time, and by means of it there is a passage by water across all Russia, from the gulf of Finland to the Caspian-sea, a distance of more than 800 leagues. The Czar sent to the academy of Sciences the plan of this wonderful communication, in which he had himself been principal engineer. He did not, like other Princes, look upon the being an academician as a mere honorary title, but was willing to contribute his proper quota of experiments and operations. He completed another canal between the Don and the Wolga: but the restoration of Asoph to the Turks, by the treaty of Pruth, rendered that canal useless in the latter part of his reign. There were great hopes of seeing it flourish again about two years ago, when Asoph was retaken from the Mussulmen; had not another treaty, concluded by the mediation of a French minister, most surprisingly obliged the present Empress to a fresh restoration, after all the success that had attended her arms.

1st, In the junction of rivers.

I mentioned in the geographical part, that the dominions of Russia extend east above 1500 leagues, to the very frontiers of China, and the seas of Japan. The Muscovite caravans, which went to China for the sake of traffick, employed a whole year in their voyage. This was a grievance well worth the consideration of such a genius as the Czar Peter, who knew this tedious journey.

2dly. In shortning the journey of the caravans.

ney might be made both shorter and easier, either by the communication of rivers, or by other public works, or by making of treaties with certain Tartarian Princes, who could grant them a passage thro' their countries: in short, the labour of a year might be reduced to 4 months; and, according to this design, all commerce should have its center at Petersburg, which would then become the emporium of the universe. That city to which he had given both being and name, was to him what Alexandria had been to Alexander its founder: and as Alexandria was so happily situated, that it changed the face of commerce in those days, and became for trade what Tyre had been before: so Petersburg bids fair to change the course of business in the present age, and become one of the principal seats of merchandize in the whole world.

3dly, In attempting to discover a Northern passage.

The Czar carried his views yet a great deal farther. He wanted to know what his situation was with regard to America; whether that vast continent joined to Tartary, or whether the Northern ocean gave a passage thither, which would open him a way to the new world. It reflects no dishonour on the attempt, that it was not equally successful with his other undertakings, and that of two vessels which he sent to make this yet impossible discovery, one was stopped in its passage by the ice, and the other in all probability was lost, having never since been heard of. The very year before his death he ordered a skilful sea-captain to build two others for the same enterprize; but the event still made it appear, that in order to accomplish such an arduous task, the same greatness of mind which he possessed should be communicated to those he employed. Something of the same nature has been very lately undertaken, and tho' the Northern passage to America be still unknown, a discovery has been made of several fertile islands, where never European

European had been before, and these too well inhabited by a civilized people.

There were in Muscovy a great many mines, either totally unknown, or, what was more shameful, unimproved, thro' the antient indolence of the populace, and the general discouragement of their governors. These could not possibly escape the attention of the Czar Peter, which took in every thing throughout his dominions. He procured workmen skilled in metals from foreign parts, particularly from Germany, and raised these hidden treasures to their standard value. Gold dust was brought him from the banks of the Caspian Sea, and the farthest part of Siberia; and 16 ounces of this latter produced 14 ounces of pure gold. Iron, more necessary than gold itself, became in his days common in Muscovy, and with it all the arts which either prepare or employ it.

*Employs
miners.*

In speaking of the gold dust on the Caspian Sea, I must not omit the unfortunate expedition of Prince Alexander Bekewitz, which happened in the very year we are now upon. So long ago as the year 1715, the Czar had received intelligence that a great deal of gold was discovered at the mouth of the river Daunia, which falls into that sea, and had sent thither this Bekewitz, a Prince of the Circassian Tartars, and captain of his Majesty's guard, accompanied by Mr. Blucher, a man skilful in mine affairs, to clear the country of the vagrant Tartars, and set up the necessary works. They had made one journey thither with great hopes of success; having discovered, besides a great quantity of gold dust and silver oar, some curious pieces of antiquity. But the Prince being sent thither again, at the head of 3000 men, in order to take possession of the river, and to secure it by two forts on the Caspian Sea, he was drawn into a snare by the natives of Schirvan, had all his troops cut in pieces, and was himself inhumanly massacred at the Kam's tent. The Czar

*Prince Bekewitz's
unfortunate expedition.*

was prevented from taking immediate vengeance for this outrage, by a domestic affair of yet greater importance; an enquiry into the crimes of his eldest son, Alexis Petrowitz, who, during his father's absence, had made his escape out of the kingdom. I have postponed the relation of this affair to the present period, when the Prince was brought back to Moscow, and the following manifesto published by his Majesty, which, with what comes after, will entirely vindicate his severity to this rebellious son.

*The Czar's
manifesto
relating to
the crimes
of his son.*

PETER I. by the grace of God, Czar and Emperor of Russia, &c.

It is notorious to the greatest part of our faithful subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or who are in our service, with how much care we have caused our eldest son Alexis to be educated, having given him, from his infancy, tutors to teach him the Russian and foreign languages, and others to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not only to bring him up in our orthodox faith of the Greek confession, but also in the knowledge of political and military affairs, and of the constitution of foreign countries, their customs and languages, that through the reading of history and other books, he might acquire the qualifications worthy of a successor to our throne of Great Russia. Nevertheless we have seen with grief, that all our attention and care for the instruction of our son proved ineffectual, seeing he always swerved from his filial obedience, shewing no application for what was becoming a worthy successor, and slighting the precepts of the masters we had appointed for him; but on the contrary frequenting disorderly persons, from whom he could learn nothing good.

We have not neglected often to endeavour to bring him back to his duty, sometimes by gentle means, sometimes by reprimand, sometimes by pater-

paternal corrections. We have more than once taken him along with us into our army, to cause him to be instructed in the art of war, as one of the chief sciences for the defence of his country; taking care to keep him off from any dangerous occasion, out of regard to the succession, tho' we exposed our own person to those perils. We have at other times left him at Moscow, putting into his hands a sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him in the art of government. We have afterwards sent him into foreign countries, in hopes, that seeing in his travels governments so well regulated, this would excite in him an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care has been fruitless, and, like the seed of the doctrine, fallen upon a rock: for he has not only refused to follow that which is good, but even is come to hate it. He only and continually conversed with disorderly persons, whose morals were abominable.

As we were resolved to endeavour by all imaginable means to reclaim him, and inspire him with an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honour, we exhorted him to chuse a consort among the princesses of the chief foreign houses; as is usual in other countries, and hath been practised by some of our ancestors, the Czars of Muscovy; and we left him at full liberty to make a choice. He declared his inclination for the Princess, grand-daughter to the Duke of Wolfenbuttel then reigning, sister-in-law to the Emperor of the Romans now reigning, and cousin to the King of Great Britain; and having desired us to procure him that alliance, and permit him to marry that Princess, we readily consented thereunto, without any regard to the great expence which was occasioned by that marriage. But after its consummation, we found ourselves disappointed of the hope we had, that the change of the condition of our son would produce a change in his bad inclinations.

clinations; but found quite the reverse of what was expected: for notwithstanding his spouse was, as far as we have been able to observe, a wise, sprightly Princess, and of a virtuous conduct, he lived with her in the greatest disunion, while he redoubled his affection for lewd people, bringing thereby a disgrace upon our house before the foreign princes, to whom that Princess was related, which drew upon us many reproaches. These advices and exhortations proved ineffectual: on the contrary, he violated at last the conjugal faith; and gave his affection to a prostitute of the most servile condition, living publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his lawful spouse, who soon after died of sickness; and it was believed that her grief, occasioned by the life of her husband, hastened the end of her days.

When we saw his resolution to persevere in his vicious course, we declared to him at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for the future conform himself to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a prince, we would deprive him of the succession, without any regard to his being our only son (our second son not then being born); because we would rather chuse for our successor a stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy son: that we could not leave our empire to such a successor, who would ruin what the father hath, by God's assistance, established, and tarnish the glory of the Russian nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, willingly exposing our own life on several occasions: besides, that the fear of God's judgment would not permit us to leave the government of such vast territories in the hands of one whose insufficiency and unworthiness we are not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him, in the most pressing terms, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to repent and return to his duty.

His

His answer to these remonstrances was, that he acknowledged himself guilty in all these points; but alledging the weakness of his genius, which did not permit him to apply himself to the functions recommended to him, he owned himself incapable of our succession, desiring us to discharge him from the same.

Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with paternal affection, and joining menaces to our exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back to the right way; and the operations of war having obliged us to repair to Denmark, we left him at Petersburgh, to give him time to return to his duty. And afterwards, upon the repeated advices we received of the continuation of his disorderly life, we sent him orders to come to us at Copenhagen, to make the campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But forgetting the fear and commandments of God, who enjoins obedience even to private parents, and much more to those who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no other return than an unheard-of ingratitude. For, instead of coming to us as he was ordered, he withdrew, taking along with him great sums of money, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to live in a criminal course. He put himself under the protection of the Emperor, raising against us a world of calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute, and intended, without cause, to deprive him of our succession; alledging, that even his life was not safe if he continued with us, and desiring the Emperor not only to give him refuge, but also to protect him against us by force of arms. — The Emperor, tho' informed of his excesses, and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law to his Imperial Majesty, thought fit, upon his pressing instances, to appoint a place where he might reside: and he desired farther, that he might

C c 3.

be

be so private there, that we might not come to the knowledge of it.

Mean while his long stay having made us fear, that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent persons several ways to get intelligence of him; and after a great deal of trouble, we were at last informed by the captain of our guard, Alexander Romanzoff, that he was privately kept in an imperial fortress at Tyrol: whereupon we wrote a letter with our own hand to the Emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us. But notwithstanding the Emperor's acquainting him with our demands, and exhorting him to return to us, and submit to our will; yet he alledged, with a great many calumnies against us, that he ought not to be delivered into our hands; as if we had been a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect but death. In short, he persuaded his Imperial Majesty, instead of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to Naples in Italy, and keep him there secretly in the castle, under a borrowed name.

Nevertheless, we had notice from our said captain of the place where he was, and thereupon dispatched to the Emperor our privy councillor Peter Folstoi, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with a most pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our son, contrary to all laws divine and human; according to which private parents, and with much more reason those who are invested with sovereign authority, have an unlimited power over their children, independently of any other judge: and we set forth, on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our son; and on the other his disobedience; representing, in the conclusion, the ill consequences the refusal of delivering up our said son to us might occasion, because we could not leave this affair in that condition. We ordered those we sent with that letter to
make

make verbal representations even in more pressing terms, and declare that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible means, such detaining of our son.

We wrote likewise to him a letter with our own hand, to represent to him the impiety of his conduct, and the enormity of the crime he had committed against us, his father; and how God threatned, in his laws, to punish disobedient children. We threatened him, as a father, with our curse, and, as his Lord, to declare him a traitor to his country, unless he returned and obeyed our commands; and gave him assurances, that if he did as we desired, we would pardon his crime.

Our envoys, after many solicitations, and the abovesaid representation made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the Emperor to go and speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return home. The Imperial ministers gave them, at the same time, to understand, that our son had informed the Emperor that we persecuted him, and that his life was not safe with us, whereby he had moved the Emperor's compassion; but that the Emperor, taking now in his consideration our true representations, promised he would give orders to endeavour, by all possible means, to dispose him to return to us, and would moreover declare to him that he could not in justice refuse to deliver him up to his father, and fall out with us on this account.

Our envoys, upon their arrival at Naples, having desired to deliver to him our letter, sent us word, that he did not only refuse to admit them, but that the Emperor's viceroy had found means, by inviting him home to his house, to present them to him afterwards against his will. He did then indeed receive our letter, containing our paternal exhortation, and threatening our curse; but without shewing the least inclination to return; alledging

alleging still a great many falsties against us, as if, by reason of several dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could and would not return; and boasting that the Emperor had promised not only to protect him against us, but even to set him upon the throne of Russia against our will, by force of arms.

Our envoys, perceiving this evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail with him to return: they intreated him; they expatiated upon our assurances towards him, and upon our threats in case of disobedience. They declared, that the Emperor would not enter into a war with us on his account; and many other representations did they make unto him. But he paid no regard to all this, neither shewed any inclination to return to us, till the Imperial viceroy, convinced of his obstinacy, told him in the Emperor's name, that he ought to return; for that his Imperial Majesty could not keep him from us, nor embroil himself with us upon his account.

When he saw how the case stood, he at length resolved to return home, and declared his mind to our envoys, and to the Imperial viceroy. He likewise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself a criminal: and in this manner he is arrived here.

And albeit now our son, by so long a course of disobedience against us his father and Lord, and particularly for the dishonour he hath cast upon us in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising calumnies of us, and for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with death: nevertheless, our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy upon him, and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt him from all punishments of the same. But considering his unworthiness, we cannot in conscience leave him after us the succession of the throne of Russia, fore-

foreseeing that he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation, and the safety of our dominions, which, thro' God's assistance, we have acquired and established by an incessant application.

Now, as we should pity our faithful subjects, if by such a successor we should throw them back into a worse condition than ever they were yet: so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our Empire, even any of our subjects may disinherit a son; and in quality of sovereign Prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our Son Alexis of the succession to our throne of Russia, even tho' there should not remain a single person of our family after us; and we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter, tho' yet very young, having no successor that is older.

We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession. And we desire our faithful subjects, of all ranks and conditions, that in conformity to this constitution, they acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and that they confirm the whole by oath before the altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross. And all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our will, and shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, we declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be everywhere published, to the end no person may pretend ignorance.

* The

Done at Moscow, the 3d
of February, 1718, O. S.

*The Czarew-
witz
brought be-
fore his
father.*

* The Czarewitz arrived with the sieur Tolltoi at Moscow on the 11th of February, and waited the same night on the Czar, with whom he had a long conference. The next day a great council was held, and on the 14th, before break of day, the guards and garrison of the city were posted round the castle, and orders were sent to all his Majesty's ministers, boyars, and councillors, to repair to the great hall there, and to the clergy, to assemble in the cathedral. Then the great bell was tolled, and the Prince, as a prisoner, being carried into the Czar's presence, presented a writing to his Majesty, containing a confession of his crime, and in tears fell at his feet. The Czar gave the paper to baron Schafiroff, and, raising his son from the ground, demanded of him, What was his desire? The Prince implored his mercy, and begged that he would save his life. His Majesty granted his request; but told him, that he must solemnly renounce the succession, and acknowledge the same under his hand: which he answered, he was ready to perform. The Czar then expostulated with him upon his disobedience, and asked him, Who were the advisers of his late escape? Upon which the Prince drew near and whispered him, and they went together into an adjoining room, where it was supposed he named the persons.

*Disclaims
the succefsion.*

Being returned into the hall, the Prince signed an instrument, setting forth, that finding himself unqualified for government, he therefore disclaimed any right of succession to the crown. Then several articles, containing a deduction of the causes of his Majesty's excluding his eldest son from the succession were read aloud. The ministers, boyars, officers, and others, who were present, swore upon the gospel, and subscribed an oath, importing, that the Czar having declared that he had excluded from the crown the Czare-

*An oath
taken to
Pr. Peter.*

witz

witz Alexis Petrowitz, and had appointed his second son the Prince royal Peter Petrowitz to succeed him; they owned the legality of this his Majesty's decree, acknowledged the said Peter Petrowitz to be the undoubted successor to the crown, engaged to stand by him with their lives against any that should dare to oppose him, and never to adhere to Prince Alexis Petrowitz, or assist him in the recovery of the said succession. Then the company repaired to the cathedral, where the Czar, in a long speech, set forth his son's undutiful behaviour: after which, the clergy swore and subscribed the oath abovementioned. The said oath was afterwards administered to all the public officers, and other inhabitants of Moscow, who were not present at the solemnity; and orders were sent for doing the like all over the Russian Empire, and in his Majesty's armies abroad. The Prince was kept under confinement, and no body admitted to him but the sieur Tolstoi, and such others as were appointed by the Czar.

The Grand inquisition proceeded with great diligence. There were two different processes, one of which related to the Czarewitz, and the other to the late Czarina, and Major-General Gleboff: the former was furnished at Petersburg, and the latter at Moscow. The concourse of people at Moscow was extraordinary on this occasion. The whole court was there, with the greater part of the generals and superior officers, and the chief of the clergy and nobility of all Russia. But what most deserved every one's attention, was to hear the Czar himself, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, make speeches to the clergy and great men in the hall, representing to them and the people, with his natural eloquence (in which accomplishment, as well as that of expressing himself in writing, he had no equal among his subjects) the danger to which his government had been exposed, and the horror of the crime of high

The Czar's abilities and true greatness.

high treason. On these solemnities the Czar appeared in his usual dress, being naturally an enemy to all pageantry, and affecting a plain habit and small retinue. Even at the time we are speaking of, in the midst of the disturbances of his own family, he had never above 2 or 3 servants attending his sled, in which, by night, as well as day, he was carried up and down the city.

Persons involved in the inquisition.

The senator Samarin was acquitted; as was also Count Peter Matuewitz Apraxin, senator, and formerly governor of Astracan. But the Prince Wafili Wolodimirowitz Dolgoruki, Lieutenant-General, was ordered to be continued under close confinement. The other principal persons involved in this grand inquisition, besides the Czarewitz and Kikin, were the former Czarina, Ottokesa Federowna, of the family of Lopuchin; her father confessor; Maria Alexewna, the Czar's sister by the half blood; the Czarewitz of Siberia; the boyar Stepan Gleboff; Dossifei bishop of Rostoff; and the treasurer of the monastery of Susdal: of whom the boyar Gleboff, the bishop Dossifei, Kikin, the treasurer of the monastery of Susdal, and another Russian, were executed in the public market-place of the city of Moscow, on the 26th of March. Gleboff was empaled alive, and the others broke on the wheel. The corpse of the bishop was burnt; but his head, with those of Kikin, and the other Russians, were put on high poles, on the 4 corners of a square wall erected for that purpose, and the empaled corpse of Gleboff placed in the middle. Backlanofsky, the Czar's page, and some nuns, had their sentence mitigated, but suffered severe corporal punishments. This Backlanofsky had been the spy of Kikin, even in the Czar's closet.

The Czarewitz's mistress set at liberty.

Afrosini, the Czarewitz's mistress, was set at liberty, not only in consideration of the open confessions she had made, but also because, by her persuasions, she had much contributed to the Czarewitz's

rewitz's return. She pretended that the Czarewitz forced her to comply with his will, threatening her with death on refusal. It is maintained by several, that after her first lying-in, and upon her conforming to the Russian faith, she was actually married to the Czarewitz. This circumstance appeared the more probable, because having obtained his Majesty's full pardon, and had several jewels restored to her, with this declaration, that if she had a mind to marry, she should receive a portion out of the Czar's treasury; she made this answer: *I first yielded to one man's will out of force,--henceforth no other shall come near me.*

The pardon which his Majesty had given the Czarewitz, was only upon condition that he should declare all that he knew: but letters that were afterwards intercepted, made it appear that the inquisition had not gone to the bottom of the affair, and the Czarewitz had forfeited the grace which his father would have conferred on him. The Czar therefore saw himself necessitated to establish a second high court of justice. To this end he convoked the chief of the Russian clergy, with all possible speed, to Petersburg: and having besides established another court, consisting of the ministers, senators, governors, generals, and superior officers of his guards, his Majesty for eight several days continued some hours on his knees, imploring God to inspire him with such thoughts as the honour of his holy name, and the welfare of the Russian nation required. On the 25th of June, 1718, the sessions of this criminal court were opened in the hall of the senate, whither his Majesty repaired, with the whole body of the secular clergy and judges, after having first caused solemn service to be performed in the church of the holy Ghost. The whole assembly having taken their respective places, at several tables, the doors and windows were set open, in order to give free admittance to all sorts of persons. Upon this the

Czarewitz was brought into court, under the guard of four under-officers; and upon his appearance, his Majesty made a brief declaration of the causes why he had called them together, and ordered all the * writings to be publicly read, which concerned this affair.

*Account of
the papers
read at
the trial of
the Czare-
witz.*

The first of these papers was intituled, *a declaration to my son*, in which his Majesty set forth the advantages which he had acquired to his people by industry and the love of arms, and expostulated with the young Prince for his neglect of whatever tended to form a great Sovereign. It concluded with these remarkable words. "After having considered all these inconveniencies, and reflected upon them, as I see I have not been able to engage you by any motive to do as you ought, I have judged it convenient to lay before you in writing this act of my last will; resolving still to wait a little longer before I come to a final execution of my purpose to try whether you will amend or no; and if not, be assured that I will deprive you of the succession, and cut you off as an unprofitable member. Do not think, that because I have no other child†, I say this only with a design to fright you. I will certainly do what I say, if it shall so please God. For as I spare not my own life for the good of my country, and the safety of my people, why should I spare you, who will not be at the pains to be worthy of them? I shall rather chuse to transmit them into the hands of a worthy stranger, than give them to an unworthy son." This declaration his Majesty gave the Czarewitz the same night that his consort was buried.

The Prince, in his answer to this, and several other letters which his Majesty sent him, still pretended indisposition of body, declared a sense of his

* See manifesto concerning the trial of the Czarewitz, published by his Majesty's order.

† This letter was written 18 days before the birth of the Czarewitz, Peter Petrowitz.

his own unsuitness for government, and expressed a desire to take on him a monastic life. These letters, as published by order, are interspersed with memoirs relating to his conduct at the same time : After which follow the several heads of examination, written by his Majesty, and presented to the Czarewitz, with that Prince's answer to every article, and several additional confessions; drawn from him one after another, as evidence against him appeared; by which it was manifest, that he had endeavoured to conceal the most material particulars : also the dispositions of the several witnesses against him, among whom was his own mistress Afrosini, with whom he was confronted; proving the several crimes charged upon him by his Majesty, and detecting divers circumstances that were not before known, which confirmed the hypocrisy and prevarication, as well as guilt of the Czarewitz, who himself confessed in his last answer, *that he had criminal designs, which he meant to execute, even during his father's life-time, if occasion offered.* But as the reflections upon these pieces, which were afterwards read in their order, contain a representation of what was most considerable in the whole process, I shall content myself with inserting them, and proceed to the judgment of the court.

“THE better to comprehend the care his Czarish Majesty has taken to bring back the Czarewitz into the right way, that he might engage him to become worthy of the succession; and to let the publick see how the Czarewitz, on the other hand, has broke through all his Father's measures, by the opposition he has made to them; we shall set the matter in a still greater light, though it may be amply deduced from the several pieces.”

’Tis notorious, by the first manifesto which was published upon the arrival of the Czarewitz at Moscow, and by the letters his Majesty wrote to him,

*Reflections
on these
pieces.*

with what reiterated solicitations his Majesty, his father, exhorted him to make himself capable and deserving of the succession; and yet notwithstanding, the Czarewitz always shewed himself refractory. In his reply to the letter which his Czarian Majesty had written to him, he did not tell him the reasons why he would not take pains, as his Father desired, to make himself capable of the succession: he only deceived him with false oaths, by which he engaged himself to a renunciation of the crown, and which he afterwards not only broke, but aspired to the succession by ill practices.

His Czarish Majesty, who saw into the naughty inclinations of his son, again exhorted him, by other letters, to form himself for the government; and represented to him, to intimidate and engage him to a compliance with his will, that if this was absolutely impossible for him, he should then embrace a monastic state. He plainly saw that the Czarewitz's renunciation of the succession was no more than an amusement, and altogether void of sincerity, as afterwards appeared plainly by the consequence: for he was so far from giving a clear and positive answer to his Czarish Majesty's letter, who exhorted him to a determination, that he had still recourse to subterfuges, and answered only in a vague and undetermined manner, by oaths and intreaties, that he might be allowed immediately to retire into a convent; which, notwithstanding, were altogether fraudulent.

For which reason his Majesty advised him, upon his departure from Petersburgh into foreign countries, not to enter so soon into a convent, because the engagement was difficult for a young man to observe, and gave him still six months time to consider of it; at the end of which he was to write to his Majesty what part he would take. He used him thus, in hopes that he might change his opinion, and, by a better conduct,

con-

conform to the will of his father, and make himself deserving of the succession, by a serious application to his duty.

The Czarewitz, not caring to answer any thing at that time upon this subject to his father, pretended to be sick; but his Majesty was scarce gone from him, before he went to an entertainment with Michael Voinou. The six months passed, and the Czarewitz took no notice of the choice he was to make. His Majesty, who saw his deceit, wrote to him again from Copenhagen, to repeat his exhortations concerning the succession; and ordered him to come to him that he might learn the business of war: but that if he desired to retire into a convent, he required that he would make choice of his monastery, fix the time of his retirement, and write word back to his Majesty, who would neither prescribe the time, nor assign the place. It evidently appears by his Majesty's three letters, that he earnestly wished he would make himself capable of the succession: that he had no inclination to force him to become a monk; but, on the contrary, was desirous to dissuade him from it, and left his choice to his own free determination. The Czarewitz seemingly made choice of a convent of his own proper motion. However, all his promises, which were confirmed by so many oaths, were found deceitful. For it has actually appeared, that the Czarewitz aimed at the succession, of which his Majesty had not only deprived him, but also forced him, by his powerful exhortations, to pretend to it, by labouring to make himself worthy of it.

But, in contempt of all this, the Czarewitz made his escape, and took refuge with the Emperor, demanding his assistance and protection, to aid him even with an armed hand; and he has said that the Emperor had assured him by the Count de Schonborn, vice-chancellor, that he would procure him the Russian crown, not only by good offices, but also by force of arms; insomuch that the

Czarewitz not only hoped for his father's death with expressions of joy, but also sought it; and when he was told there was a rebellion raised in the country, he declared his satisfaction at the news, and was resolved to join the rebels, if they had called him; whether his father was living or dead.

One might convict him from his own confession, (That when he wrote in his answer, which he gave to his father, that his infirmity was so great that he did not desire the succession, he told them a manifest falshood. He took physick only to appear sick, if mention was made of any journey he did not care to take, as his father desired; when in reality he was perfectly well. Infomuch that we may judge by all these circumstances, that he aimed at the succession, not in the manner his father was desirous to leave it him, namely in the proper order, but after his own manner, by foreign assistances, or the forces of rebels, even whilst his father was alive.

Tho' the Czarewitz had said in his last confession, that his not having owned his letter from Naples, to the metropolitan of Kiovia, was to be imputed to his forgetfulness; this also has been found to be absolutely false. For since he has remembered the particulars in matters of far less consequence, which were the subject of his discourse with several people some years ago, as appears by his examination, how could he have forgot this circumstance of having wrote to the archbishop, which is a point of far greater importance?

There appears in this excuse of forgetfulness not only a direct falshood, but also a very malicious disposition; for when Afrosini had maintained to his face that he had writ to the archbishop from the fortress, and had sealed the letter in her presence, he had a mind to conceal the business, by the pretence of a plan of the attack of Belgrade, which he sent back sealed to the secretary of the

Vice-

Viceroy of Naples: however, he afterwards owned that it was not the plan, but the letter to the Archbishop of Kiovia, which he had sealed. The excuse he also made, of having forgot to own in his first confession, what concerns the Czarewna Mary Alexiewna, Dubrofski, and Ebarlakof, who were acquainted with his escape, was also a falsehood, as appears from his having afterwards declared he had compassion upon the Czarewna. It also appears by the report of the resident Wesselski at Vienna, that the Imperialists did not force the Czarewitz to write letters to the senate and the archbishops.

His Czarian Majesty, in his letters to the Czarewitz at Naples, promised him only his gracious pardon for his escape, if he would return to him. He not only pardoned him upon his return, but also extended his favour so far, as to promise him a general forgiveness for all he had committed; if he would make a sincere confession of all he had done, and discover his accomplices without any reserve; declaring to him at the same time, that if he kept back any thing, or concealed any person who was an accomplice in this affair, his pardon should be null and void. Yet we have clearly seen in what manner the Czarewitz, contemning the paternal clemency and pardon he had obtained, concealed a great number of persons, letters, and facts, as also his pernicious designs of joining the rebels, and entering into their devices. 'Tis therefore evident, that he has not only had no real intention of discovering all his crimes, and making amends by a sincere repentance, but that he has also disguised, and concealed what had passed, that he might be able to resume again his designs for the future, and renew what hitherto he has not been able to effect."

As they were reading the matters above related, his Majesty again verbally examined the Czarewitz

The Czarewitz again examined.

witz touching the crimes that were proved in those pieces, and how every thing had passed; and, after a great many questions upon the points of most importance, of which his Majesty shewed him the proofs for his conviction, the Czarewitz confessed before the whole assembly, that he was guilty of all that was found in the writings which had been related.

The audience being ended, his Majesty caused an ordinance to be issued out to the archbishops and secular states, commanding them to search the holy scriptures, and the civil and military laws, relating to the present case; and pronounce sentence against the Czarewitz in conformity thereto: authorising them also to examine him, if they found it convenient, upon any point whatsoever; to make him appear before them, and put such questions to him as should be necessary. The three following remarkable interrogatories, given to him by Count Tolstoi, from under his Majesty's own hand, with the Prince's answer, ought not to be omitted.

Interrogatives from the Czar to his son.

“**C**O to my son in the afternoon, and put down in writing the answers he shall give to the following questions:

I. What is the reason why he has not obeyed me, and refused to do what I required of him, or apply himself to any business, contrary to the practice of the world, besides the sin and shame attending upon it?

II. Whence it is that he has been so little afraid of me, and has not apprehended the consequences of his disobedience?

III. Why did he desire to have the succession otherwise than by obedience, as I have formerly asked him myself?—And examine him upon every thing else, that bears any relation to this affair.”

These

These questions, and the answers that follow, were dated June 22.

I. **T**H O' I was not ignorant, that to be disobedient, as I was to my father, *Answers of the Czare-witz.* was opposite to the practice of mankind, and was also both a sin and a shame; yet this arose from my having been brought up in my infancy with a governess and her maids, from whom I learned nothing but amusements, and diversions, and bigotry, to which I had naturally an inclination. The persons to whom I was intrusted, after I was removed from my governess, gave me no better instructions, particularly Nicephorus Vassenski, Alexei Bassili, and the Naraskins.

My father being careful of my education, and desirous I should apply myself to what became the son of the Czar, ordered me to learn the German tongue, and other sciences; which I was very much averse to. I applied myself to them in a very negligent manner, and only to pass away the time, without having an inclination to learn any thing. And as my father, who was then frequently with the army, was at a distance from me, he ordered Prince Menzikoff to have an eye upon me. Whilst I was with him, I was obliged to apply; but as soon as I was out of his sight, the Naraskins and Vassenski, observing my inclination was only bent to bigotry and idleness, to keep company with priests and monks, and drink with them, they not only diverted me from business, but took a pleasure in doing as I did. As they had been about me from my infancy, I was accustomed to observe their directions, to fear them, and comply with them in every thing: and thus by degrees they alienated my affections from my father, by diverting me with pleasures of this nature; so that by little and little, I had not only the military affairs, and other actions of my father

father in horror, but also his person itself, which has always made me wish to be at a distance from him.

When I found myself entrusted at Moscow with the government of the empire, finding I was at full liberty and master of myself, instead of considering that my father had put it into my hands to train me up, and form me for the succession after him, if I would make myself capable of it; I gave myself up still to the pleasures I was addicted to, with the priests and monks, and other people of that temper. Alexander Kikin, when he was with me, constantly took a great deal of pains to confirm me in this disorderly way of life.

My father having compassion on me, and desiring to make me worthy of the state to which I was called, sent me into foreign countries; but as I was already grown to man's estate, I made no alteration in my way of living. It is true indeed, my travels were in some respects useful to me, but were insufficient to erase the vicious habits which had taken such deep root in me.

II. It was this naughty disposition which prevented my being apprehensive of my father's correction for my disobedience: I freely owned it; for tho' I was really afraid of him, yet it was not with a filial fear; I only sought for means to get from him, and was no ways concerned to do his will, of which I here give you a plain instance.

When I came back to Petersburg, to my father from abroad, he received me in a very gracious manner: amongst other things, he asked me whether I had not forgot what I had learned; and I told him, No. He ordered me to bring in my draughts; and fearing that he would make me design in his presence, as I knew nothing of the matter, I studied how to hurt my hand, so that it should be impossible for me to do any thing at all: I charged a pistol with ball, and taking it

in

in my left hand, let it off against the palm of my right, with a design to have shot through it. The ball missed my hand, but the powder burnt it sufficiently to wound it. As the ball entered the wall of my closet, it may be seen there still. My father observing my hand to be wounded, asked me how it came. I told him an evasive story, and kept the truth to myself. By this means you may see that I was afraid of my father, but not with a filial fear.

III. As to my having desired the succession, otherwise than by obedience, all the world may easily guess at the reason: for when I was once out of the good way, and was resolved to imitate my father in nothing, I sought to obtain the succession by any the most wrongful method: I was even desirous to come at it by a foreign assistance, and if I had got it, and the Emperor would have put in execution what he promised me, of procuring for me the crown of Russia, even with an armed force, I should have spared nothing to have obtained it. For instance, if the Emperor had demanded Russian troops in exchange for his service, against any of his enemies, or large sums of money, I should have done whatever he pleased, and given great presents to his ministers and generals over and above. I would have entertained at my own expence the auxiliary troops he should have lent me, to put me in possession of the crown of Russia; and, in a word, have thought nothing too much to have obtained my desire."

These answers, with a great number of new evidences, and the opinions of the clergy, supported by authorities out of the Old and New Testament, the constitutions of the empire, and the military laws, being laid before the persons appointed by his Czarian Majesty, the court assembled in the hall on the 24th of June to give judgment; and after having heard all that has been said, read,

and

*Sentence
pronounced
against him*

and related, and made mature reflections upon it, with one unanimous consent, they pronounced and ordered sentence of death upon the Prince to be signed, and set their seals to it with their own hands; at the same time expressing the great repugnance they had to this ungrateful office, and submitting their sentence to his Majesty's clemency. This being done, a new session was held on the 6th of July in the morning, and the Czarewicz brought out of the fortress into court, under guard, where he was obliged to repeat the confession of his crimes, and to hear his condemnation read to him; after which he was sent back into custody.

*The Prince
taken ill.*

As we have the authority of a public minister, then on the spot, for what passed the next day, it would be an injury to the Czar not to insert it. * Early in the morning, July 7th, news was brought to his Majesty, that the passions of his mind, and the terrors of death, had thrown the Czarewicz into an apoplectic fit. Another messenger about noon brought advice, that the Prince was in great danger of his life; and a third, that being past hopes, he could not out-live the evening; and that he longed to see his father. Then the Czar, attended by the principal persons of his court, went to see his dying son, who, at the sight of his father, burst into tears, and, with his hands folded, declared, "That he had grievously and heinously offended the Majesty of God Almighty, and of the Czar; that he hoped not to recover of this indisposition, and even if he should, yet he was unworthy of life: therefore he begged his Majesty, for God's sake, only to take from him the curse he had laid upon him at Moscow; to forgive him all his heavy crimes; to impart to him his paternal blessing; and to cause prayers to be put up for his soul. During these moving words, the Czar and the whole company almost melted away in tears.

His

* Present state of Russia, Vol. I.

His Majesty returned a pathetic answer, represented to him in a few words all his offences, and then gave him his forgiveness and blessing. After which they parted, with abundance of tears and lamentations on both sides.

At 5 in the evening came a fourth messenger, to acquaint his Majesty, that the Czarewitz was extremely desirous once more to see his father. The Czar at first was unwilling to comply; but was at last persuaded by the company, who represented how hard it would be to deny that comfort to a son, who, being on the point of death, might probably be tortured by the stings of a guilty conscience. But when his Majesty had just stepped into his sloop to go over to the fortress, a fifth messenger brought an account, that the Pr. *Dies.* was already expired.

The very next day, his Czarish Majesty caused a circular letter to be sent to his ministers abroad, in order to prevent the false reports which might be spread about this tragical event. After reciting the circumstances of it, to the same effect as above, his Majesty concludes, "That although this stroke was a great affliction to him, he nevertheless judged it had happened by the particular providence of God, for the good and repose of his kingdoms; so that it was with a Christian duty and submission he received this affliction from the hand of God.

* On the 9th of July, the corpse being laid in- *His funeral.* to a coffin covered with black velvet, and a pall of gold tissue spread over it, was carried from the fortress to the church of the Holy Trinity, where it was laid in state. Four officers of the guards were in waiting, who gave leave to a vast number of people to kiss the hands of the deceased. The preparations being finished, on the 11th in the evening, the corpse was carried back to the fortress, where it was deposited in the new burying-

E e

vault

vault of the Czarish family, next to the coffin of the Prince's late consort. The Czar, the Czarina, the chiefs of the nobility and of the courtiers, followed in procession. The Czar, and the rest of the mourners, carried each a small wax taper lighted in their hands; but they wore no mourning-clokes, and the ladies were only dressed in black silks. The Czar was bathed in tears during the procession, and the service at church, where the priest had chose for the text of his funeral sermon the words of David: *O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom.*

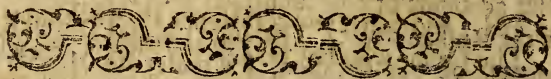
*The Czar
defended
with re-
gard to his
son.*

Undoubtedly more credit ought to be given to this relation, than to any of the various reports which were raised about the death of the young Prince; as, that he was obliged to take a poisonous draught; that the Czar whipped him to death with his own hands; and other fables equally improbable. The many original pieces which his Majesty published concerning the history of this unfortunate son, the frank and generous assurance, with which he lays his own conduct before the impartial world, are incontestable proofs that he had nothing to reproach himself with in this remarkable event. The noble acts of clemency he had shewn to persons infinitely less dear, and the great pains he had evidently taken to reclaim this unworthy heir, cannot but convince us that it was a necessary piece of severity when he gave him up to be tried as a criminal, and at the same time prevented our believing he could be cruel to a child, against whom he was unwilling to be strictly just. And so much as this being manifest, it can certainly be no impeachment of the character of a legislator, that he preferred the interest of an Empire, for which he had so often hazarded his life, for which he had laboured incessantly near 30 years, to the safety of a son who had conspired to dethrone him, and to disconcert the whole system he had so long been forming.

There

There were not wanting however, even among the ministers of foreign powers, those who wrote false accounts of this affair, and other occurrences at the Russian court. The Imperial and Dutch residents, on this occasion, fell under his Majesty's displeasure. He wrote to Vienna to have the first recalled; and had the other seized and examined. To justify which proceeding, he sent a memorial to their High Mightinesses, who answered it by another very submissively drawn up, wherein they acknowledged the fault of their minister. These injurious reports being stifled, his Majesty proceeded in the inquisition against such as were accomplices in the crimes of the Czarewitz, and found the list of conspirators every day encrease. Persons of both sexes, and of every age and degree, were involved in the horrid design of destroying their monarch and father, who saw that clemency would here have been misplaced. Some he punished with death, others with the knout and Batoags, and not a few banished into Siberia. Prince Dolhoruki was sent an exile to Casan, stripped of every thing but the clothes on his back; and the divorced Czarina, mother of the late Czarewitz, with Princess Mary Alexewna his Majesty's half sister, were both closely confined. About this time General Renchild was sent home, in exchange for the two Russian generals Gollowin and Trubetskoi. The first had been in Russia ever since the battle of Pultowa, and the others in Sweden much longer, having been taken at the battle of Narva.

*Complains
of false re-
ports made
of this af-
fair.*



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER the GREAT,
EMPEROR of RUSSIA.

BOOK VIII.

*Containing the remainder of the Czar Peter's
reign, with an account of his character.*

*Discovery
of Gortz's
plan.*

UPON the execution of baron Gortz, mentioned in the preceeding book, the plans concerted between him and M. Osterman were found among his papers. The negotiations had gone successfully on, and the congress, which had been transferred from Abo to the isle of Aland, was just drawing to an end, and wanted only the final approbation of the King of Sweden to its proceedings.

ings. Baron Gortz was upon the road to procure this, when he was unexpectedly seized, informed that by his master's death all his projects were at an end, and conveyed a prisoner to Stockholm.

The Czar, who saw his scheme disconcerted by this sudden revolution, immediately resolved upon prosecuting the war with vigour against an almost defenceless nation, and obliging it by force of arms to make those cessions, which he had before hoped to obtain by mere negotiation. He had attempted nothing in the last sea campaign, but suffered Charles to invade Norway unmolested; and so well was the Swedish monarch assured of his pacific disposition, that he had sent for his guards, and a part of the garrison of Stockholm, to assist in the invasion. But the death of this royal adventurer, whose ambition had given too much umbrage *The Kings* to his neighbours, changed the disposition of all *of Great-* Europe with regard to the desolated kingdom he *Britain* left behind him, and determined the King of Great *and Prus-* Britain, and soon after the King of Prussia, to en-*su enter-*ter into friendship with the new Queen, whom *into an* they were unwilling to see deprived of any more *alliance* provinces. These monarchs indeed, at the same *with Swe-* time that they took on them the guarantee of *den.* what yet remained to the Swedish crown, had the countries confirmed to them that they were already possessed of; which to the former were Bremen and Verden, and to the latter Stetin with its territories. His Britannic Majesty was also to pay 300,000 crowns annually to Sweden, during the continuance of the war, and even to procure by force restitution of what the Czar had conquered, and of the estates of the Duke of Holstein, which the King of Denmark had usurped.

M. Osterman, during the winter, had been sent for from Aland to receive new instructions: but when he returned thither again in the spring, it was more to menace than negotiate with the Swedes.

*Sir John
Norris ap-
pears in
the Baltick*

*Mr. Jefferies at Pe-
tersburgh.*

and to declare, that unless in two months time they accepted the conditions proposed; they must expect a visit from 40,000 plenipotentiaries. Sweden no doubt must have complied, had it not been for the alliances abovementioned: but she made another figure than she had lately done, when the Lord Carteret appeared at Stockholm, in the character of ambassador from the King of Great Britain, and Sir John Norris in the road of Copenhagen, with a squadron of English men of war. It did not at all please the Czar, that this admiral, whom he had been informed a few months before was coming to him as a public minister, should have the influence of a strong fleet to support his negotiations. This character had been designed for Sir John in the preceding winter, when the resident Jefferies had orders to take his excellency with him from Copenhagen: but when Mr. Jefferies came thither, he found that Sir John was returned with his fleet for England, and was obliged to proceed to Petersburgh alone, where he arrived in the middle of January. He had several audiences of the Czar and his ministers, in which he complained of the good reception the Jacobites found at the Russian court, and that his Czarish Majesty had endeavoured to divert the regent of France from signing the quadruple alliance. The rest of Mr. Jefferies's commission was to make compliments and propositions, and to concert plans of operation against Sweden; which, on the one part, however sincerely agreed to at first, were never intended to be put in execution after the death of King Charles.

It was on the 3d of July 1719, that Sir John Norris appeared again in the Road of Copenhagen, where he received a letter from the Czar, requiring him to send in writing the reasons of his coming to the Baltick. The admiral returned a very mild answer, desiring that he would send to the king his master, to be satisfied of his good intentions.

tentions. But this was so far from convincing the Czar of the continuance of the King of Great Britain's friendship, that it plainly shewed him he was abandoned by his Allies, and those very Allies gone over to the enemy. The King of Poland himself had entered into a treaty with the Emperor and the King of Great Britain; which occasioned the Czar to write him a warm expostulatory letter, and disperse it among the members of the republic: and this usage so exasperated Augustus, that he answered it with severe reproaches, which seemed to foretel a rupture between Russia and Poland.

*The Czar
sees himself
abandoned.*

The Czar, who had before resolved to make a descent on Sweden, now hastened to put it in execution, before she could receive any succour from her Allies. He published a manifesto from on board his fleet, to declare the motives of this expedition, and vindicate his own conduct by throwing the blame of it on the Queen of Sweden. Her Swedish Majesty answered by a counter-manifesto, wherein she recriminates upon the Czar, and argues the unreasonableness of those conditions on which he had offered peace; exhorting her subjects not to receive false impressions from this writing of her avowed enemy, but bravely to imitate their ancestors in defence of their country. The Czar's pen was indeed to be dreaded, as well as his sword; and the Queen of Sweden was not the only monarch who was apprehensive of the impressions it might make on their subjects, and who complained of the artifice with which he employed it.

*Publishes
a manifest-
to; which
the Q. of
Sweden
answers.*

The descent is made, and in such an effectual manner, that the Swedes are unable to oppose the torrent of destruction that overwhelms them. The Prince of Hesse, with his little army, flies about from place to place; but the Russians neither wait his coming up, nor stop their devastations for fear of his efforts. They land in parties every
where,

*His de-
scent on
Sweden.*

where, destroy all that comes in their way; and as the best towns, the finest seats, and the richest mines of Sweden lie near the sea coast, they could do their business, and embark again for other places, before it was possible for the Swedish forces to interrupt them, tho' they even lay within a few leagues. The Gazettes of that time give the particulars of this dreadful invasion, which I shall not here copy: but according to the general account published at Petersburg, by the Czar's order, it appears that admiral Apraxin, for his part, burnt and destroyed 6 good towns, 11 castles or palaces of brick, 109 of wood, belonging to noblemen, 826 villages or hamlets, 3 mills, 10 magazines, 2 mines of copper, and 5 of iron. General Lessly, who commanded another grand party, reduced to ashes 2 towns, 21 castles or noblemen's houses, 535 villages or hamlets, 40 mills, 16 magazines, and 9 iron mines, to save one of which the Swedes had offered 300,000 rix-dollars. It must be observed that in Sweden there are few large towns, the people being dispersed in small villages over the face of the country; which is the reason that in these lists the number of the latter is so great, in proportion to that of the former.

The Russians, from one mine that they destroyed, carried 13,000 ton of fine iron on board their gallies: and as a great part of the wealth of Sweden consists in this metal, the more completely to ruin that unhappy kingdom, the invaders threw into the sea all of it that they could not bring away, which was no less than 80,000 bars. The mines and mills they utterly destroyed wherever they came, with the corn and forage, and killed all the cattle and horses which they could neither expend nor carry off. In a word, the Czar was resolved to reduce the Swedes to such extremity, that they should accept of the conditions he thought proper to impose: but that intrepid nation

tion began to imbibe new courage at the appearance that was made in their favour, and when M. Osterman, after these devastations, came to offer them propositions again upon the foot of baron Gortz's plan, they not only rejected them with scorn, but broke up the conferences at Aland, and the ministers on both sides returned home. *His propositions rejected.*

Sir John Norris, who had hitherto lain quiet in the road of Copenhagen, while the Swedes in vain expected him to make a diversion in their favour; perceiving how hardly they were now pressed, sailed away for the ports of Sweden, in order, as was imagined, to meet the Russians. These latter however did not think proper to wait the junction of the English and Swedish fleets, which undoubtedly would have been an over-match for theirs, but prudently retired to their own harbours eight days before Sir John's arrival. But fear is a motive that must never be ascribed to great monarchs, and tho' the Czar's conduct in this retreat was no more than a necessary prudential step, so jealous was he lest it should be interpreted to his disadvantage, that he caused a writing to be published on this occasion, intitled, "A true relation of the return of the Russian fleet to Revel and Cronslot, published to confute the false reports of those that envy the glory of his Czarish Majesty's arms." It contained a journal of the motions of the fleet for some time before, and asserted that the season of the year was the only cause of its retreat; tho' few could be induced to believe that Sir John Norris would have advanced into those Northern seas, with an English fleet, at a time when the severity of the weather obliged the Russians to retire. *The retreat of his fleet.*

It was impossible all this while; there could be any good understanding between the Courts of London and Petersburgh. Mr. Berkely, son of the Lord Berkely of Stratton, had been dispatched with letters from Lord Carteret at Stockholm, while the

Russian plenipotentiaries were yet at the isle of A-land, offering his Britannic Majesty's mediation between the Czar and the Queen of Sweden: But when he arrived there, the plenipotentiaries would neither grant him a passport to Petersburg, nor undertake to send his letters to the Czar; General Bruce excusing himself upon the contents of those letters, which he said were not agreeable to the ties subsisting between their Czarian and Britannic Majesties. Upon this Messieurs Jefferies and Weber were ordered to retire to Dantzick; and the Czar, in return, seized the persons and effects of all the English merchants in his dominions, threatening to confiscate the latter, in case the King of Great Britain made war upon him, which he was informed Admiral Norris had commission to do, in conjunction with Sweden. At the same time, the Russian resident at London, M. Wesselowski, presented a very bold memorial to King George, which charged him with breach of treaties and violation of friendship. This was answered by secretary Stanhope, and the chancery of Hanover, respectively; and these answers were a short time after replied to by M. Bestuchef, who succeeded Wesselowski at London, in such an affronting manner, that he was ordered to depart the Kingdom.

The English merchants seized in Muscovy.

The Russian resident sent home from London.

Queen of Sweden resigns her crown to her husband.

I shall postpone the transactions at Petersburg, during the Czar's stay there in the winter, till we have entirely done with this tedious war. His Czarian Majesty began early in 1720 to prepare for a new campaign, and resolved alone to push the operations against Sweden, assisted by an English fleet, favoured by the Kings of Prussia and Denmark, and ready to make peace with Poland. Ulrica Eleonora, sister of the late King Charles XII. in the mean while resigned her crown to her husband, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel; and King George engaged the regent of France, with whom he was in strict alliance, to pay certain large subsidies that were due to the Swedes, of which

600,000

600,000 crowns were remitted at once. All these dispositions looked little favourable to the Czar, who now saw that if he obtained an advantageous peace; he must extort it by force. He reinforced his army in Finland, augmented his fleet, and made all possible haste to enter on action. It was pleasant to see, that while hostilities were vigorously carrying on between the two nations, the King of Sweden sent to notify his accession to the Czar, and the Czar very affectionately complimented the King upon the news; each monarch doing all in his power to entertain the envoy of the Prince he was at war with. But M. Romanzoff, who was sent to Stockholm on this occasion, could obtain nothing but gracious words: For the Swedish court would neither consent to an armistice, nor a cartel for the exchange of prisoners (both which M. Romanzoff had commission to offer) unless preliminaries for a peace were at the same time settled.

As soon as the season of the year would permit, admiral Norris arrived again in the Sound, with orders anew to offer his master's mediation, and to support it with his fleet. But the Czar, who chose rather to treat of peace directly with Sweden, would however admit of no mediator but the Emperor of Germany. He was persuaded the British admiral would not act offensively, as there was no open rupture between the courts of London, and Peterburgh; and therefore not only proceeded with drawing together his army in Finland, to the number of 80,000 men, but at the same time got ready his fleet at Cronslot and Revel. He did not venture it out however during the whole season, and the only action it performed was the taking of two Swedish frigates, and running two others a-ground. This advantage was owing to the rashness of the Swedish vice-admiral, who, ignorant of the Russians strength, ventured to attack them on the coast, and were repulsed with the loss of 400 men, 150 pieces of cannon, and these vessels. Yet the Czar, very political-

*Admiral
Norris a-
gain in the
Baltick.*

*The Czar
gains an
advantage
at sea.*

ly,

ly, to keep up the reputation of his marine, made this victory the subject of a triumph, had medals struck on the occasion, and gave presents to Prince Galliczin the admiral, and the other officers and soldiers who had signalized their valour. These de-luding cavalcades, in M. de Voltaire's opinion, augmented the people's veneration for his person, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes than all the real good he had done them. In the mean time it could not but be a sensible mortification to his Majesty, that he durst not attempt any thing farther; and Sir John Norris, though he acted nothing really, did Sweden great service, by keeping the Czar from action. The Russian fleet, though the wonder of the world for the time it had been raising, was yet insufficient to appear before a British Squadron. His Majesty's land forces were more successful; they burnt the new town of Uma in Lapland, destroyed two gentlemen's seats, 41 villages, 17 mills, and 183 magazines, without suffering the least loss.

*Advances
made to-
wards a
peace.*

Though M. Romanzoff effected nothing himself, it appeared at the beginning of the year 1721, that his voyage to Stockholm had not been useless. He made Count Horn, President of the Swedish chancery, so sensible of the Czar's pacific disposition, that the cartel, which had been refused, was soon after granted to Prince Miseriski, who immediately succeeded Romanzoff. His Czarish Majesty, in the midst of his conquests, could be under no other necessity to sue for peace, than what paternal affection for his subjects, drained and wasted by 20 years hostilities, laid upon him; and the frankness with which he proposed it, in this advantageous situation, convinced the Swedish ministry of his sincerity. When Prince Miseriski returned to Petersburgh, M. Dahlman, a Swedish adjutant-general, followed him thither, and proposed an armistice for a whole year: but the Czar, as he had prepared for the next campaign, would not consent to a suspension of arms for so long a time, lest it should be only a
snare

snare of the enemy, in order to recover strength; yet he gave M. Dahlman to understand, that he would accept the mediation of France, which M. Campredon, the French minister at Stockholm, had in some measure offered. This was immediately complied with, and M. Campredon went to Peterburgh, to hear his Majesty's propositions, which were the same he had before sent by M. Osterman to Stockholm, and communicated to the King of Great Britain. The Swedes consented to treat on the conditions they had before refused, and *A congress held.* Nieustadt, a little town in Finland, was named for the place of congress. The plenipotentiaries soon repaired thither, but not time enough to prevent the Russian troops from making some fresh progress upon the coasts of Sweden, where General Lesly burnt six new galleys, and 27 other vessels; destroyed a magazine of arms, a manufactory of muskets, two iron forges, and thirteen mills; besides laying waste four towns, 509 hamlets, 98 parishes, and 334 barns. But as these hostilities were immediately stopped, as soon as the suspension of arms was agreed on by the plenipotentiaries, the alarm they gave the Swedish court tended only to forward the negotiations, which indeed was all the Czar desired.

The King of Sweden having been brought to consent to the cession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, *Peace concluded.* part of Carelia, and the territory of Wyburg; the isles of Oesel, Dragoë, Maen, &c. the Czar agreed to restore part of Finland; to pay two millions of rixdollars to his Swedish Majesty; to permit the Swedes to buy 50,000 rubles-worth of corn every year at Riga, Revel, and Wyburg, and to transport it without paying of duty; except when a bad harvest, or other solid reasons should hinder it; and to allow the same liberties, civil and religious, to the new provinces, that they had enjoyed under former governments. All confiscations, except those already escheated, were to be restored, and

all prisoners released without ransom, provided they paid their debts. Those who were willing to do homage to the Czar, were permitted to do so, without being incapacitated from serving elsewhere: the rest had three years allowed to dispose of their estates, and were obliged to pay off all mortgages.—Thus did the Czar Peter, when all his allies had deserted him, procure a peace upon his own terms, without permitting the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, to be included in the treaty, though the Swedes had endeavoured to get his name inserted.

The Czar's joy and generosity on that occasion.

The profusion with which his Majesty celebrated the publication of this peace, as well by his ministers at foreign courts as in the cities of his empire, sufficiently expressed the pleasure it gave him. He loaded the plenipotentiaries on both sides with presents and favours, and sent immediate orders to set the Swedish captives every where at liberty; but with this intimation, that if they were willing to enter into his service, he would give them the same rank they had borne in the troops of their country, upon public declaration that it was their own choice. Those general officers of whose bravery he had been witness, he recommended to the favour of their sovereign. Rear-Admiral Ehrenchild, in particular, whom the Czar at his departure had presented with his picture set in diamonds, was upon this recommendation preferred to the degree of admiral.

His lenity to the Livonians.

As to the inhabitants of Livonia, his Majesty did more for them than was stipulated in the treaty; and not only gave the Calvinists among them the free exercise of their religion, which they could never obtain under the Swedes, but restored to the whole province all those privileges that had been usurped during the two late reigns. Other ordinances that he made in their favour, sufficiently convinced them of the lenity of his government. And for all those of his antient subjects, who were
either

either in prison or on board the gallies, he passed an act of indemnity, that they too might partake in the general joy, and bless God for restoring public tranquillity.

The 22d of October, 1721, was ordered for a day of general thanksgiving throughout the empire. *A general thanksgiving.* Two days before a resolution was taken in the senate, after deliberation with the clergy, “to thank his Majesty for his paternal care and pains in the government of his people, especially during the last war, and to intreat him to accept the titles of *Peter the Great, Father of his country, and Emperor of all Russia.*” When this proposition was made to him, he seemed for some time in suspense, and even desired to be excused from receiving that honour; but at length he submitted to their repeated solicitation, and on the day of thanksgiving, after the treaty of peace was read, the Archbishop of Pleskow made an oration upon his Majesty’s exploits, declaring him worthy of those titles. Then the great Chancellor Golioskin, at the head of the senate, addressed his Majesty in a short speech, which conferred them on him, and set forth the reasons of this proceeding. The whole senate then repeated thrice, *Long live Peter the Great, Father of his country, and Emperor of all Russia.* This was followed by a general salvo of all the cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people. The conduits in the streets ran with wines: the night concluded with illuminations and fireworks, and these rejoicings continued for 15 days.

The Czar complimented with new titles.

Having beheld peace thus re-instated in the North, by the great wisdom of his Czarish Majesty, I return to some transactions during the last two years, that, for the reason before given, were hitherto omitted. There had been several other executions, at the end of the year 1718, besides those we have mentioned, of persons concerned in the late Czarewitz’s treason. After which his Majesty established another high tribunal, consisting of

Fines several great men.

A conjecture on that subject.

military officers, to enquire into the faults of those concerned in the civil administration. The Princes Menzikoff and Dolhoruki, Admiral Apraxin, his brother the senator, and many others, were found guilty before it of several heinous crimes: but the only punishment they suffered, was the being severely mulcted in their purses. The reason his Majesty gave for this lenity, was the consideration of their former services. But it was thought by many, that the court was instituted only to draw from these favourites a part of what they had extorted from the people, in the exercise of their respective authorities. What gave some colour to this supposition, was the Czar's behaviour to Prince Menzikoff, who, though always found guilty in inquisitions of this nature (of which there were several during his Majesty's reign) was constantly re-established in his former honours; and therefore was looked upon only as a tool on these occasions, to colour this arbitrary way of levying money on the nobility and chief officers. By this means, it was said, the Czar avoided the odium of oppressing his subjects, to raise those immense treasures that were necessary for carrying on his vast projects, and even made the commonalty admire their Sovereign, while they hated his ministers; though at the same time he only punished them for extortions himself connived at, and let them still go on to drain the people, that he might squeeze them, like sponges, when the exigencies of state called for what they had amassed. Whether this suggestion was well founded, or how far such a measure might be justifiable in an absolute monarch, to make him beloved by the most perverse nation in the universe, I will not pretend to determine: but certainly we must allow it, if true, to be a most refined stroke of policy. Tho' methinks the bodily punishments, such as the *knout* and *bataags*, which were often made use of on these convictions, and which Menzikoff himself did not always escape, are a pretty strong argument for the contrary opinion.

In the Winter of 1719 the Czar banished the jesuits from his dominions, whither they had introduced themselves by a recommendation from the Emperor. His Majesty saw that the maxims of these fathers, which tend to undermine all civil governments, and alienate the minds of people from their princes, in order to fix them on other objects, were incompatible with his design of making a brave people, that should have no human dependance but on their own natural sovereign. And at the same time, in imitation of other great legislators, he instituted public diversions, to wear his subjects of their superstitious inclinations, which had given but too much handle to the artifice of those spiritual itinerants. He caused assemblies to be opened at Peterburgh, and drew up regulations to be observed in them, which were printed in the Russian language. Every great man at court was to hold one of these at least every Winter, and separate rooms were provided for the ladies, and those who were willing to spend the evening in conversation, while in others there was dancing, or playing at cards and chess, in which last game the Russians were great proficients. Plays and operas were also introduced; but as the Czar himself had no great relish for them, they made but little progress during his reign.

His Majesty banishes the jesuits.

Sets up assemblies.

Poland was still so embarrassed, that it is difficult, in few words, to mention the affairs of that kingdom. The quarrels of the nobility, either among themselves, with their own King, or some foreign potentate, is the chief characteristic of their boasted liberty. They had for a long time been uneasy with the Czar, on account of the troops which he kept quartered among them, or continually marched thro' their territories. Prince Dolhoruki, who had been several years with them as his Majesty's ambassador, was hitherto unable to give them satisfaction. Augustus himself, as he had now no-body to fear, had long been less respectful

His broils with Poland.

than formerly to his Czariſh Maſteſty, either out of diſregard to an old friend, from whom he expected no farther ſervices, or to ingratiate himſelf the more with the republic. The coldneſs was become mutual between the two monarchs, and Auguſtus was rather inclined to enter into the alliance with the Swedes, who had depoſed him, than obſerve his engagements with the Czar his reſtorer; as the latter, for his part, had once thought of undoing what he had done, and replacing Stanislaus on the throne from which he had driven him. While confidence was thus wanting on both ſides, the Palatine of Mazovia came ambaffador from the Diet to his Czarian Maſteſty, to demand ſatisfaction for the damages done by the marches of his troops, and to declare in caſe of reſuſal, that the nobility were ready to get on horſeback, to take revenge for the injuries they had received. The Czar was neither willing to break with the Republic, nor to relinquish the pretenſions he had upon it, and therefore answered the ambaffador by other demands, and promiſes to examine into the grounds of what he complained of. Thus the negotiations were ſtill ſpun out; Prince Dolhoruki was continued, and the Palatine of Mazovia went home as he came; but not without being loaded with civilities, and expreſſing his admiration at the wonders of his Maſteſty's reign, his magnificent buildings, numerous armies, powerful fleets, and political inſtitutions; all which he promiſed to recount in his own country.

*ſets the
English a-
gainſt their
miniſtry.*

As the King of Great Britain had taken part with Sweden, the Czar apprehended the Britiſh miniſtry would oppoſe all the ſteps towards an accommodation: for this reaſon his Maſteſty, who well knew the temper and conſtitution of the Engliſh, endeavoured to ſet the people of that nation againſt their rulers, as if theſe latter were only in the intereſt of Hanover. By publiſhing an ordinance in favour of the Britiſh merchants, he kept the miniſtry

nistry from doing him any hurt during the congress at Nieustadt. To see him not only conquer the first hero of the age, but out-reach the ablest politicians, surmount every obstacle that lies in his way, and accomplish all he had fought for in alliance, when deserted and opposed by his Allies; what an idea does it give us of this wonderful spirit, how does it convince us of the propriety of his newly-acquired title!

But the Imperial title, thus solemnly conferred *Gets his* by his own subjects, was yet to be acknowledged *Imperial* by foreign powers. All the ministers residing at Pe- *title ac-* tersburgh had public notification of what was done, *knowledg-* and were desired to write concerning it to their re- *ed.* spective courts: at the same time the Russian ministers abroad had the like notice, that they might demand of the powers to whom they were sent, the acknowledgment of this title. The king of Prussia, the States-General, and the Grand Seignior, made no hesitation; and the other powers, who had any misunderstanding with the court of Petersburgh, or any private reasons to keep them at present on the reserve, complied as soon as the matters in suspense were adjusted. Mean while *Makes* his Imperial Majesty, every day more worthy of *new regu-* those honours, accomplished what he had before *lations.* found impracticable, by transferring the trade of Archangel almost entirely to Petersburgh: and for the encouragement of the mercantile part of his subjects, as well as to lessen the public expence, he cantoned out his men of war among the trading cities, who were to use them in commerce, upon condition only of keeping them in repair for his Majesty's service. Nor was religion neglected among his other regulations, tho' the manner in which he promoted it was not conformable to the systems of priests. He caused the Bible to be printed in the Russian language, and obliged every father of a family to have at least one copy, on which account they were sold very cheap: and the

the clergy, most of whom 30 years before could barely read, were ordered all of them to preach in the modern method, such doctrines only as were to be found in the Scriptures.

Enters

Moscow in triumph.

On the 21st of December, 1721, his Czarish Majesty set out from Petersburgh for Moscow, attended by the Empress, the nobility, and the foreign ministers. On the 29th he entered his antient capital in triumph, at the head of his first regiment of guards, passing under several arches, and receiving, as he marched along, the compliments of the magistracy and clergy. But neither is it my business to describe particularly these cavalcades, having already said enough in their defence; nor was it the business of his Majesty only to exhibit a public spectacle. Prince Peter, his only son, had been dead almost three years, and the succession, in all probability, would occasion much dispute after his death, if it were not settled before; besides that the empire might fall into the hands of a person unworthy or incapable of governing, who would consequently ruin all that had hitherto been done. His Majesty therefore summoned all the officers, civil and military, and all the inhabitants of Moscow, native and foreign, to assemble in the castle on the 4th of February, where an unexpected proposal was made them, and afterwards distributed to each person in print. It was that they should swear, and give it under their hands, "to approve such person for successor to the empire, as his Majesty should nominate." An order of the same nature was published a few days afterwards at Petersburgh, to be subscribed by the magistrates and people. The grandees of Russia were all summoned to Moscow, and those of Astracan and Siberia to their respective capitals, to subscribe the same writing. And such was now the universal opinion of their Emperor's wisdom and care, that all ranks and degrees pressed to obey his commands, tho' every one was ignorant who the person was he intended

Imposes an oath relating to the succession.

tended to chuse. Prince Naraskin, a near relation of his Majesty, a person of great abilities and experience, who had been many years abroad, and was well acquainted with his Majesty's great designs, was the man generally thought of. The Emperor however would satisfy no-body, but declared in general in the act of succession, that if the person pitched upon should forget himself on that account, and not continue to answer his expectation, he would exclude him and chuse another."

The situation of affairs in Persia, upon the revolt of Myr-Maghmut, gave both the Czar and the Grand Signior an opportunity of turning their arms that way. Father du Cerceau, in his history of the revolution in Persia, gives a very particular account of this extraordinary event, one of the most remarkable of the present age. He shews us an indolent monarch, otherwise generous and humane, suffering himself to be lulled into a profound lethargy, while his subjects were more oppressed, and less protected, than under the worst of his tyrannical predecessors. An artful nobleman, one of the heads of the Aghwans, an obscure nation, who inhabited a very remote and neglected part of the empire, discovers the weakness of the court, and forms the project of becoming independent. He effects it with ease, and preserves this independency till his death: after which his son, a youth of but 18, having defeated an army that was sent against him, pursues his victory till he deposes his sovereign, and ascends the Imperial throne. The example of the Aghwans encouraged the Leshians to revolt likewise, who being a people that inhabit about mount Caucasus, on the west of the Caspian Sea, among the ravages and massacres they committed, put to the sword above 300 Russians, who came thither in the way of commerce, and seized their effects, to the amount of above a million of money. About the same time the caravan from China

A revolution in Persia:

Which affects the Czar's subjects;

China was pillaged and destroyed by the Usbeck Tartars, a people in union with Myr-Maghmun.

*And of
which he
complains,*

These outrages upon his Majesty's subjects gave sufficient cause of complaint, and occasioned his sending an ambassador to Persia, who remonstrated the case to the young usurper. Maghmud, with an air of haughtiness and indifference, which success and want of experience are ever apt to give, told the ambassador, "that for his part, he was willing to maintain a good understanding with the Czar, who he had heard was a prudent and valiant Prince; but could not answer for the conduct of his Tartar Allies, with whom the Czar must treat for security, if he wanted to pass thro' their country." This insolent answer, joined to the damage his subjects had sustained, gave the Russian Emperor a fair opportunity to make an expedition to the Caspian Sea; the becoming master of which might be a means of extending the commerce of his Empire. With this view he gave orders for assembling troops about Astracan, building vessels on the Wolga, and making all the necessary dispositions for falling on the northern provinces of Persia, which lay along the west of this unnavigated sea. The river Daria, before mentioned for its gold-dust, falls into it in these parts, and some very remarkable antiquities, in particular several thousand manuscripts in an unknown language, had been discovered in the same neighbourhood; both which were motives sufficient to draw thither a Prince of Peter's character, who, it was judged, would not have wanted a pretence for this expedition, if the affront from Myr-Maghmun had never been received.

*And pre-
pares for
war.*

*The Turks
alarmed.*

It gave no small alarm to the Turks, when they saw an army of 100,000 men, with the Emperor of Russia at their head, drawn up on their frontiers: for the Turkish provinces here run up parallel with those of Persia, and border upon the Black, as the other upon the Caspian Sea. The Grand Vizir signified the suspicions of the Porte to the

the Russian minister at Constantinople; and was soon satisfied by a manifesto, which the Emperor sent him, and caused to be dispersed along the borders, that his Imperial Majesty's design was not against Georgia, nor any other province dependant on the Turks; but to correct the insolence of the usurper Maghmud. And as sovereigns never want more pompous reasons to cover those that are private and real, his Majesty declared himself the protector of the injured Sophi, whom he resolved to support against Maghmud's pretensions. He had received indeed three expressses from this monarch, imploring his assistance against the rebel. The conditions offered were too advantageous for Peter not to embrace them, though it was impossible he should actually attempt, with his own troops, to re-inthroned the sophi. The marching an army into the heart of Persia would have been too hazardous an enterprize, as it must have excited the jealousy of the Turks, and even of the Mogul: but the Russian Emperor, by invading the provinces on the Caspian Sea, might draw off the forces of the usurper thither, and give the party of the deposed monarch time to recover strength.

* On the 18th of July, 1722, the Russian fleet, *The Czar* consisting of 274 large vessels, began to fall down *conquers* the Wolga. The Emperor Peter, who commanded *Daghestan* the expedition in person, was his own historian, *and Schir-* and to his journal * is the world obliged for all the *van.* account of its extent. It informs us of the surrender of Terki and Derbent, the two principal towns along the coast; of the routing several detachments of the petty Princes thereabouts, and of the joy with which they were received at all the places they passed through. His Majesty, in short, became master of the coasts of Daghestan and Schirvan, and that very army which was in Sweden in
Sep-

* This journal is published in English, among other pieces, in the second volume of Consett's trials.

September 1721, was in Moscow from November to the April following, conquered two provinces from Persia in the summer, and arrived at Moscow again in November 1722. A little inspection of the map will give an idea of this laborious expedition, which, though it was not attended with any remarkable action, there not being an enemy in those parts capable of making head against such a numerous army, deserves a place among the great actions of the Emperor Peter. The Latin verse written over the gate of Derbent, when his Majesty entered it, alluding to the opinion that Alexander the Great was the builder of that city, contained a very handsome compliment on this occasion.

Struxerat hanc fortis, tenet hanc jam fortior urbem.

*Takes a
new chart
of the Cas-
pian sea;*

Nor was it only as a conqueror, that Peter visited these shores, but as a geographer and mathematician. The Caspian Sea had been known as long as we have any records of time, but the true figure of it was never discovered till this expedition. The Czar detected the ignorance of all former ages, by ordering a chart to be taken of this prodigious lake; and we now see it extended in length from North to South, to more than three times the breadth; whereas in our maps before this, it makes always a round or an oval figure. His Majesty sent a draught of his new Caspian Sea (for so we may properly call it) to his brethren of the academy, wherein the places are laid down with as much exactness as in our maps of England, and the copies of it are now almost as common.

*Which he
sends to the
academy in
France.*

*The Turks
again al-
armed.*

Myr-Maghmud, having strove in vain to distress the Russian army, by setting upon them the neighbouring Tartars, and finding he could have no confidence in the loyalty of the Persians, took all possible pains to bring over the Porte to his interest, and make it break with the Czar. We have already seen, in several instances, the weak and uncertain measures

measures which the Ottomans took on every slight alarm from Russia, and it was now no difficult matter to terrify them with the danger of Georgia, and the storm which threatened the Mahometan religion, for which the Turks and Persians were equally concerned. A rupture in all likelihood must have followed, if the Emperor of Germany had not signified to the sultan, who sent to sound his inclinations, that he was under such engagements to Russia, as would oblige him to take arms in its favour, whenever attacked by his sublime Highness. The Grand Vizir, who was almost the only man in the divan that wished to preserve the peace, made the best use of this declaration to soften the rest of the ministry: and as the French ambassador, at the same time, took pains to convince the sultan, that the Russian Emperor had done nothing but what the Porte had before approved of, the matter for the present blew over: and tho' a fresh alarm arose, upon the revolt of the people of Ghilan to the Czar; the same preparations that had been making against Russia, were at last employed against Maghmud himself, upon the pressing instances of the deposed Sophi.

But pacified.

The Czar made preparations the next Spring, for renewing the Persian war. But the usurper had then his hands full of the Turks, and was in condition to oppose the troops which his Majesty had left behind him. They took Baku, the only place of importance that remained to the Persians on that coast; for which great rejoicings were made at Petersburg, as it secured all the other Russian conquests on the Caspian Sea. About the same time arrived an ambassador from Schah Thamas, son of the deposed Sophi Hussein. That young Prince was now at the head of an army, and had gained some advantages over the enemy. His minister being received with much splendor, concluded a treaty with his Czarish Majesty, by which Derbent, Baku, the provinces of

The Czar makes a treaty with Schah Thamas.

Ghilan, Mazanderan, and all the other countries bordering upon the Caspian sea, were ceded for ever to Russia, upon condition that the Czar should assist the young Schah against his rebellious subjects, and get him re-established on the throne of his ancestors.

As the Turks were now stripping Persia of all the provinces they could, without regard either to the usurper or the hereditary Prince, they immediately took umbrage at this alliance, and debated again about entering into a war with the Russians. But his Imperial Majesty having timely notice of their disposition, he took care to communicate the new treaty to the Porte in form, inviting her to become a party in it, as no more was designed by it than to assist an insulted Prince against his rebellious subjects. The Vizir again gave a good turn to this declaration, and the usurpation of Maghimud was painted in such colours to the Sultan, that he at last approved of what the Russian Emperor had done. A convention was consequently agreed on between Schah Thamas and his Highness, by which the latter was left in possession of Erivan, Tauris, and Casbin: but at the same time a limitation was set to the conquests of the Russians, which however not only confirmed to them the Western coasts of the Caspian, of which they were already masters, but gave them a prospect of two other rich provinces, as soon as the repose of Persia was settled. Thus, to this last war in which the Czar Peter was ever engaged, we have seen as happy a conclusion as to any of his former.

*Into which
the Sultan
enters.*

His Imperial Majesty, for several years past, had been often afflicted with such violent fits of the cholick, that his life was more than once in danger. One of these paroxysms had seized him at Moscow, just before he set out on the expedition against Persia; and as the distemper returned upon him more frequently than formerly, he thought it advisable, for fear of an accident, to leave behind him

him a will, written with his own hand, and appointing his successor in the Empire. This Testament, made in consequence of the power he had assumed, which power his subjects had acknowledged in the oath they took some time before, was placed among the records of the Empire, that it might be recurred to in case of his demise: but now that he was returned in safety, and had established peace on every side of his wide extended Empire, his Majesty resolved to declare publicly the person he had nominated in his will, and to secure to her the allegiance of his subjects while he yet lived. His beloved Catharine, the companion and partner of all his fatigues, was to be solemnly crowned in his antient city of Moscow, and left in possession of that dignity, which, after the experience of many years, he found due to her merit.

A proclamation was published in pursuance of this resolution, alledging the examples of several Greek Emperors, as Basilicus, Justinian, Heraclius, and Leo the Philosopher, who had all of them set the crown upon the head of their consorts, as a precedent for what his Majesty had determined to do. It mentioned in particular the action at the Pruth, in which the Empress had afforded him such eminent service, and declared this dignity to be conferred on her as an acknowledgment for all that she had done and suffered in his behalf.

Great preparations were made for the exhibition of this extraordinary spectacle, which was retarded for some time on account of new misunderstandings with the Turks: but these being blown over, the Emperor and Empress arrived at Moscow on the first of April, 1724. The solemnity was performed the 18th of May, after her Imperial Majesty had for three days prepared for it by fasting and prayer. Of all the publick ceremonies in the Czar Peter's reign, this was perhaps the most splendid and expensive. His Majesty, who well knew what an effect these magnificent shews

*The Em-
peror ap-
points his
successor
by will:*

*Who is de-
clared to
be his con-
sort.*

*The Em-
press
crowned.*

have on the minds of the populace, was doubtless willing by these means to teach them the most profound veneration for the person he had chose to govern them, and whom he designed to honour in this unparalleled manner. If we reflect on the birth of this Princess, and the extraordinary steps by which she thus rose to the height of worldly majesty, we must allow there was great reason for some such method to be taken, in order to efface, as much as possible, the memory of her former state. This great monarch, tho' he always avoided pomp and expence, where they were not absolutely necessary, would yet never spare them when they served to any good purpose.

*Splendor
of the coro-
nation.*

Gazettes and annals, or (what are much the same) voluminous Histories of particular persons, are the proper registers of such matters as these. As they are designed only to answer a present purpose, they no otherwise deserve a place in History, than just as precedents for future solemnities. It is sufficient to take notice here, that the cathedral, in which this ceremony was performed, was richly adorned, and crouded with nobility, gentry, and foreign ministers; that the Emperor himself put the crown on her Majesty's head, after which she received the sacrament, and Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskow, made an oration in her praise. She was led by the Duke of Holstein, and all the great officers of State made a splendid appearance. After the whole procession was over, their Majesties dined in the great hall of solemnities, which is one of the largest and finest rooms in Europe. The Duke of Holstein had a table by himself. The fountains ran with wine, red and white; and oxen, and all manner of fowls, were roasted and given away to the populace.

*History of
the Duke
of Holstein*

Having thus introduced the Duke of Holstein, it is proper here to give the History of that Prince, who was now in high favour at the Imperial court of Russia. I before mentioned his being dis-

pos-

possessed, during his minority, of the Dutchy of Sleswick, which had been guaranted to him by the King of Great Britain. His pretensions to the crown of Sweden, as son of the late Charles XII's eldest sister, were thwarted by the succession of his aunt Ulrica, who had now resigned her right to her husband, and suffered the States to resume their antient privilege of electing their sovereigns. In these circumstances the Duke applied in 1720 to the Czar, who was then at war with Sweden, and not much pleased with the Kings of Denmark and Great Britain. His Majesty very graciously attended to the young Prince's Minister, promised him his protection, and, as an earnest of respect, sent his Highness 100,000 crowns, and an invitation to come to him from Breslaw, where he then resided. Riga was at that time the residence of the Russian Court, and the Duke coming thither in April 1721, *He comes to the Russian court.* he met with a most kind reception from both the Czar and Czarina, with whom he had continued ever since.

I took notice that the Emperor's daughter Anne Petrowna, who had been solicited in marriage for the chevalier de St. George, was at the same time intended for the D. of Holstein by baron Gortz. But the sudden death of both the baron and his master, and the new system that was introduced in Sweden, had entirely changed the state of affairs with regard to the Duke, who could hardly have thought afterwards of so great a match, but for this lucky incident of being taken under the Czar's protection. This had already raised the character and interest of the young Prince, and revived his hopes of still succeeding to the crown which he thought to be his right; and an embassy which he sent to the senate at Stockholm, supported by the Russian ministers, had been so effectual, that the States of Sweden, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the King and Queen to the contrary, allowed him to take and use the title of Royal Highness; which was:

a sort of tacit acknowledgment of his claim to the Swedish crown. The Czar was very much pleased with the success of this negotiation, as he determined still to give his daughter to the Duke, according to what had been concerted 6 years before: And now, in the winter of 1724, he invited the foreign ministers and nobility to be present at betrothing the royal couple, which was performed by his Majesty's joining their hands, and the archbishop of Novogrod's conferring on them his sacerdotal blessing. The marriage was solemnized in form some time after; but the Duke did not long enjoy his beautiful consort, for she died in 1728, aged only 16 years. His royal Highness survived her eleven years, and died at the age of 39.

*Is betroth-
ed to the
Princess
Anne.*

This act of betrothing his daughter was the last publick solemnity at which the Czar Peter assisted, and we are now come to the period of that life which did so much honour to the human species.

*The Czar
seized with
the Stran-
gury.*

* His Majesty had been first seized with the strangury about the end of the year 1723, for which he had recourse to the use of mineral waters. His disease however was more powerful than these remedies, which, though they gave him some short intervals of relief, could not prevent its returning with more fury than ever; so that about the middle of January, 1725, he was obliged to be confined to his chamber. The agony of his pain was so violent in making water, that he seemed unable to express it, and only vented himself in heavy groans. A whole week he continued in torture, before it was thought convenient to break an abscess, which was discovered in the neck of his bladder. When this was done, the plentiful discharge of matter gave him some ease for the present. But all hopes of recovery soon after vanished, and nothing but grief was seen.

* See the account published by the archbishop of Novogrod, to be found among Conset's tracts.

seen or heard throughout the whole palace. In this extremity, while, as himself expressed it, *he was convinced what a miserable creature mortal man is*, he issued out an act of Grace, which extended even to malefactors condemned for treason. On the 27th of January he fainted away, when all who were present thought him expired. The alarm was instantly given. All the senators and great officers, with crowds of the people, came rushing into the apartment, and with tears bedewed the hand of their monarch, who unexpectedly recovering from his fit, with some difficulty pronounced the word *hereafter*. This accident gave him an opportunity of seeing how dearly he was beloved, by the sincere lamentations that were uttered upon the supposition of his having expired. After this he continued 15 hours in the agonies of death, all which time, in proportion to his strength, he filled up with acts of devotion. At last, on the 28th of January, at 4 o'clock in the morning, with all the fortitude of a hero, and the piety of a Christian, he gave up the ghost, having *He dies.* a little before received the sacrament. He lived 52 years, 7 months, and 8 days; a very short time for the many great things he performed.

He left behind him three daughters, by the Empress Catharine; Anne, Dutches of Holstein; Elizabeth, who is still living; and Natalia, who dying the 15th of March following, was buried with her father on the 21st of the same month. The funeral obsequies were extraordinary magnificent, for the account of which we refer to the journals of the time. Such posthumous honours could add nothing to the character of Peter, and may be indiscriminately bestowed upon the tyrant and the legislator.

During his last illness, he gave orders that the oath, which had been formerly administered in behalf of the Empress, should be renewed. Notwithstanding which there was some debate in council after his death,

*The Em-
press Ca-
tharine
succeeds.*

death, whether they should acknowledge her for successor, and whether her coronation conferred any right : but this was instantly over, and a declaration drawn up, in the name of the senators, clergy, and general-officers, that the most august Catharine had succeeded, and to her all allegiance was due. This, together with an oath on the occasion, was printed, and sent to all parts of the empire ; and every one subscribed it with the utmost alacrity. The great merit of this lady sufficiently justified the Czar's passion for her during life, and the donation he had made her at his death. She had an understanding capable of entering into all his views, a resolution and intrepidity, for putting them in execution, almost equal to his own, and a most beneficent temper, ready to redress every grievance.

*A view of
the Emper-
or's estab-
lishments.*

At the beginning of this history, before we entered on Czar Peter's reign, we took a survey of what Russia then was. We have already seen, in some measure, what he had now made it. * Augustus boasted concerning Rome, that he had found a city of brick, but left one of marble. How much more the legislator of Russia had to boast of, we shall see by looking over only some of his principal establishments.

The army.

A body of infantry of 100,000 men, as fine troops, as hardy and well disciplined as any in Europe, with a great part of the officers native Russians. The want of horses in Russia, prevented his having a cavalry equally good.

The fleet.

A powerful fleet, consisting of 40 ships of the line, and 200 gallies. One of the largest of these ships, mounting 90 guns, he built himself, in conjunction with Muscovite workmen. This great vessel was launched in 1718, amidst the acclamations of the people, with a pomp that was worthy of the principal carpenter.

A great

* Vide Fontenelle Eloge, &c. Stahlenberg's History. Consett's Tracts, &c.

A great number of strong fortifications, erected according to the best and newest plans, furnished artillery and regular garrisons. Also harbours for the safety of his fleets, as convenient and well defended as in any other country.

*Fortresses
and har-
bours.*

An excellent form of government in all the great cities, which were before as dangerous to pass thro' in the night, as the most unfrequented woods. High-roads were also made, as in other nations.

*Regulation of the
cities.*

An academy of sciences and belles-lettres, upon the model of that at Paris, and almost under the same regulations. Another for the marine and navigation, to which all the noble families in Russia were obliged to send some of their children.

Academies

Colleges at Moscow, Petersburg, and Kiow, for the languages, the polite sciences, and the mathematicks. Likewise schools in all the towns and little villages, where the children of peasants learned to read and write, which the very gentry could hardly do before.

*College and
schools.*

A college of physicians, and a fine public dispensatory at Moscow, which supplied with remedies all the great cities, and the army. Till his reign there never was in Moscow either physician or apothecary, but only for the Czar's person.

*College of
physicians
and dispensatory.*

Public lectures in anatomy, a science whose name was till then unknown: for the purpose of which his Majesty had bought M. Ruisch's excellent cabinet, of itself a perpetual lecture, consisting of dissections the most curious and instructive.

*Lectures in
anatomy.*

An observatory, where the astronomers were not wholly employed in the study of the heavens, but had for their object all the curiosities of natural history, which has enabled them already to oblige the world with a great variety of physical researches.

*Astronomy
and natural
history.*

A garden of plants, under the direction of able botanists, who were making collections not only from all the known parts of Europe, but from the

*Physick
garden.*

most

most unknown tracts of Europe and Asia, as well as from Persia, and China itself.

Printing-houses.

Printing-houses, in which he changed the antient barbarous characters, that could hardly be decyphered, on account of the frequent abbreviations. Books, which before his time, were more scarce in Russia than any foreign commodity, are now to be seen there in great plenty.

Interpreters.

Interpreters, not only for all the living languages in Europe, but for Latin, Greek, the Turkish, the Calmuck, the Mogul, and the Chinese tongues. A most noble instance of the vast extent of the Russian Empire, and possibly a presage that it will yet be greater.

A library.

A royal library, composed of three very large ones, which he bought in England, Holstein, and Germany.

Trade.

A flourishing trade, for the encouragement of which he built new cities, caused canals to be cut, and made roads thro' places before impassable, all at incredible labour and expence.

Mines, Manufactories, &c.

Medicinal waters, baths, and mines, which had been hitherto unknown in his country, he laid open. He raised manufactories, of which Russia had formerly little or no knowledge, and prevented the sending of raw goods to England, Holland, and other places, where they used to be sold at a low rate, and afterwards, when manufactured, bought again at ten times the price.

Architecture.

After having given to his work these solid and necessary foundations, he added to it all that was wanting for ornament. The antient architecture, rude and unpolished to the last degree, he entirely changed; or rather he gave birth to architecture in his empire. Multitudes of houses, convenient and uniform, were seen to rise every year. He erected palaces and public offices, and in particular a magnificent admiralty, on which he bestowed the greater expence, as it was not designed for a mere piece of ostentation.

Great

Great numbers of pictures, by the masters of *Pictures,* Italy and France, he purchased and brought over; *Statues,* and a nation who never knew what painting was, *Medals,* but from some coarse representations of their saints, *&c.* can now relish the works of a Raphael or a Poussin. He sent ships to Genoa and Leghorn, loaded with merchandize, which in return brought back statues and antiquities. Pope Clement XI. in regard to his fine taste, sent him an antique of great value, which he transported to Petersburgh by land, to avoid the hazards of the sea. A cabinet of medals, a sort of curiosity that is not antient in the most polite countries, was formed in Petersburgh under his care. Without the tedious progress by which other nations have arrived at their present perfection, he had the happiness to leave his in a condition almost equal to the proudest of them all. The Russian Empire was just at the summit of its glory; which it attained with the more reputation, as it started from a condition the most mean and despicable.

Among the rest of his reformations, we have before mentioned that religion was included, which till then hardly merited the name of Christian. Their many lents, and fasts, their superstitious worship of saints, miracles which depended only on the pleasure of ignorant priests; this was before the religion of the Russians. *Religion.* The clergy, who knew nothing themselves, could give no instruction to the laity. Peter had the courage to reform these abuses, and not to suffer the soldiers and populace to be made indolent by the holidays of their church. In 1721 he published a spiritual regulation, which was drawn up by a synod assembled for that purpose, and every article of it considered and approved by himself, containing directions for all ranks and orders of men; and, what was more, he saw them effectually put in execution. By making himself head of the church, upon abolishing the patriarchate, he became the more

more absolute master of his Empire. Preaching is now frequent in the Muscovite language, and confined, as it ought, to spiritual subjects.

*The monks
retrenched*

The Czar did more: he dared to lop off from the rich livings and monasteries their superfluous revenues, and apply it to his own use. A clergy immoderately rich, he well knew would be immoderately turbulent. “In this, says M. de Fontenelle very wittily, we can only praise his policy, not his zeal for religion; tho’ pure religion can easily put up with such a retrenchment.” In a word, he established a plenary liberty of conscience in all his dominions; which, whatever priestcraft or weak policy may alledge to the contrary, is an undoubted right of mankind.

*Justice
reformed.*

In his last sickness, when the senators and bishops mentioned the obligations he had laid on his people, he told them, that he had forgot to reform one of the most important points of all, the administration of justice. The tedious and expensive method of proceeding in law-suits, which he wholly attributed to the chicanery of the lawyers, seemed to him inconsistent with moral equity. He would therefore have a summary way of determining causes, by proofs in writing and living-witnesses, without the embarrass of artful pleadings, which only tend to disguise the truth. Judgment, by this means, might always be given in a few hours; and if the sentence was thought unjust, the party might appeal to the senate, and from that to the sovereign. This was the scheme he proposed, and the parties present approving it, he immediately issued out an order for putting it in execution. He lived but eleven days longer, but had the pleasure to hear, that all causes then depending in the capital courts, were determined before he closed his eyes.

It was no wonder, after all this, that we saw medals struck to his honour after his death, in which he had the appellation of PETER THE GREAT.

GREAT. Nations the most remote, and generations the farthest behind will undoubtedly ratify the title conferred on him by his subjects.

Person of the Czar.

As to the person of this extraordinary man, he was above six foot high, and extremely well set. His aspect was noble; his features regular, and his look somewhat severe: his face was of an oval figure, and his eyes very large; his hair in his youth of a light brown; his complexion inclining to the dark, but very clear. In his whole demeanour there was a great deal of majesty, but in his conversation such an open familiarity, that rendered him amiable to all. I have heard, from those who knew him, that he was subject to a sort of convulsive motion, particularly in his head, which some ascribed to his having been poisoned by his sister Sophia, and others perhaps with more justice, to the excesses of his youth. It is very certain, that while he was under the tutelage of Boris Galliczin, that nobleman led him into some irregular courses, which the heat of youth is but too apt to indulge. Drinking, the constitutional vice of the Muscovites, he had the happiness in a great measure to conquer, though many attribute to this the distemper that shortened his days.

His youthful excesses.

His character must be well known from what has been already said, and we can only add to it a few remarkable particulars. With an intrepidity that no danger could move, he was very cautious and circumspect. Indefatigable to the last degree, he seldom allowed himself above four hours sleep. The institutions he framed, the extracts which he made with his own hands from the laws of other nations, that he might compare them with his own, were undeniable proofs of his strict attachment to justice: as was his walking on foot every day through the streets, to receive petitions from his subjects, whom he always redressed in the most gracious manner. Never was prince more generous to his faithful and loyal servants, of

His character.

Justice.

Generosity.

Severity.

which the Princes Menzikoff, Cantemir, and Apraxin, the generals Renne, Baur, Bruce, Weide, the Ministers of State, Jagusinski, Osterman, and Schaffiroff, were most remarkable instances: all of whom, from mean extraction, were advanced to some of the chief offices of the Empire. But then his severity was equally strict to the treacherous and disloyal; as appeared in the instance of his son, and many others recorded in this history. Even Schaffiroff, the most able of all his ministers, who had long served him as vice-chancellor, was condemned to death in 1723, upon conviction of several crimes; but had his sentence commuted for banishment. If the ruin of this minister, as some pretend, was more owing to the intrigues of Prince Menzikoff, than to any real misdemeanour, we can only say, that the Prince, at that time, found the art to deceive his master, a thing that was very dangerous to attempt.

*Contempt
of magni-
ficence.*

Pomp and equipage, the gay trappings of majesty, were things the Czar Peter disdained. He loaded Prince Menzikoff with these, that the magnificence of the favourite might testify the grandeur of the master, who reserved to himself only the toils of a sovereign. So little did he consider his own person, that he was seen at all the fires, which are very frequent in Muscovy. He instituted an order of firemen like those in London, and made one of them himself. To shew an example in time of danger, he has mounted the tops of houses in flames; and what we should admire here in an inferior magistrate, was in Muscovy performed by the Emperor.

*And effe-
minacy.*

We ought not to regulate our judgment of this Monarch's actions, by comparing them with the delicate and effeminate manners of the French, I had almost said our own, nation. Few of our military gentlemen, who make so pretty a figure at a review or ball, would be proud either of the fatigue or reputation of such vigorous exercises. We must not wonder, if a Prince of this character, when

when viewed by a modern man of taste, was charged with being rough and unpolished. It was the fault of his nation indeed to be so; but to charge this fault on a Prince who had polished that whole nation, seems however a little incongruous.

He knew perfectly how to distinguish merit, and to honour it when found; which is the only means to call forth and encrease it. Not content with giving of presents and pensions, which were favours indispensably necessary in the pursuit of his designs; he found other means, of a more obliging nature, to shew his respect for the persons of valuable men, and sometimes gave testimonies of it even after their death. He made a magnificent funeral for Dr. Areskine, his first physician, at which he assisted himself, with a lighted torch in his hand, according to the custom of the Greek church. He did the same honour to two Englishmen; the one was Mr. Paddon, Rear-Admiral of his fleet, and the other his interpreter of the languages. He conferred a title of honour, and a considerable pension on the famous Mr. Leibnitz, whom he had consulted upon some of his grand projects, and who would have been fully contented having given his advice to so great a Monarch.

Regard for merit.

The name of the Czar will augment the list of the few sovereigns who have been authors, he having composed some treatises of maritime affairs. He often amused himself in the art of turning, and sent some of his performances to the Emperor of China. Others of them he gave to M. Onzembrai, whose cabinet he thought worthy of such a curiosity, as the handy-work of a monarch.

His works.

In the diversions which he took with his court, according to the relation of M. Weber and others, there appeared some remains of the ancient Muscovites. We have two or three accounts of mock marriages, one of M. Sotoff, a man who had been successively in the opposite characters of his Majesty's tutor and fool, which makes a very grotesque

Diversions

figure as simply related. But the truth appears to be, that his aim in one was to ridicule some of the antient customs of his people, and in another to expose the character of the patriarch, which he had wisely abolished. His consecration of the *Little Grandfire*, the skiff which first gave him an idea of shipping, was equally instructive and magnificent, and performed on the same principles as his triumphal entries. It is impossible to pass a judgment on the actions of great men, unless we know the motive from which they act; and we should never suppose that to be extravagant, of which we have no certain idea. Whatever was the Czar's taste in pleasures, it was sufficient that those he used could relax his mind; and perhaps he had no time to refine on an article which he the least of all regarded. Arts of this kind come fast enough of themselves; they need not be employed in the foundation of an empire.

“ No man that rightly knows the Czar, says M. Weber (who wrote in his life-time) can question his being the most judicious minister, the most experienced general officer and soldier, of his whole empire; the most learned of all the Russian divines and philosophers, well versed in history and mechanicks, an able shipwright, and still a better sailor.” Can history produce another monarch, of whom half so much was ever justly written?

“ Detached and single attributes of virtues, says a * writer of our own country, which met full and perfect in the Russian Monarch's character, have eternized the memory of antient heroes, and swelled history with their praises. The invention of new arts, the establishment of new laws, the adornment or enrichment of their country, the reducing barbarism into civil society, the encouragement of learning, the

* The Plain Dealer, Vol. II.

“ the punishment of oppression, the deliverance
 “ of their own country, or the conquests of o-
 “ thers; each of these, separately, has been
 “ thought sufficient, in all ages, to make and im-
 “ mortalize a hero. What name then shall the
 “ grateful world invent and bestow, to distinguish
 “ the possessor of more than all these virtues
 “ united?”

“ It would be an injury, as another* expresses
 “ it, to name him with any one of antiquity.
 “ Who, but himself, ever left a throne, to learn
 “ to sit it with more grace? who ever thought
 “ himself mean in absolute power, till he had
 “ learned to use it? others may, in a metaphori-
 “ cal or philosophic sense, be said to command
 “ themselves, but this Emperor was also literally
 “ under his own command. How generous and
 “ how good was his entering his own name, as a
 “ private man, in the army he raised, that none
 “ in it might expect to out-run the steps with which
 “ he himself advanced? by such measures this
 “ godlike Prince learned to conquer, learned to
 “ use his conquests. How terrible has he appeared
 “ in battle, how gentle in victory!”

I shall make but one quotation more, and with
 that conclude. It is from Mr. Hill, author of that
 excellent poem in his praise, entitled, *The North-*
ern Star: “ We, who had the honour to live co-
 “ temporaries with this egregious spirit, were
 “ deadened in our sense of his true greatness, by
 “ the nearness and familiarity with which we ob-
 “ served it: but when posterity, from the dis-
 “ tance of descending ages, shall look up towards
 “ the records of the present generation, and en-
 “ quire in vain for the names of some prouder
 “ princes, who reigned with him; his memory,
 “ and the splendor of his never-to-be-forgotten

H h 3

glory,

* Sterle, in the Spectator.

“ glory, shall cast a brightness over his Æra, and
“ millions not yet to be born, till a thousand
“ years after his death, shall remain ignorant of
“ what passed in the days of their grand-fathers,
“ while they shall be more learned and enlighten-
“ ed than we are in the character, the purposes,
“ the actions, and the virtues of this illustrious
“ dignifier of human nature. ”

F. I. N. I. S.

INDEX.

A

- A** FROSINI, 272, 300.
Alberoni, Cardinal, 279, 282.
Alexis Michaelowitz, Czar, 11.
Altena burnt, 251.
Alt-Ranstadt, peace of, 162.
Anne, Queen, her letter to the Czar, 219, &c.
Apraxin, general, 158, 256, 266, 328.
Archangel, city of, 25.
Arnfeldt, General, 257.
Asoph, city of, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77.
Astracan, Kingdom and city, 37.
Augustus King of Poland, 86, 104, 125, 131, 133,
135, 153, 156, 157, 160, 161, 198, 207, 248,
Substance of his manifestos, 205, &c. 244.

B

- Baida, province of, 42.
Bazil Ivanowitz, Czar, 3. Basiliowitz, see John.
Basiligorod, city of, 32.
Batturin taken, 186.
Baur, General, 181.
Beards, Russian, retrenched, 108.
Bekewitz, Prince Alexander, 289.
Berkely, Mr. 321.
Bestuchef, M. 322.
Biela-Ozero, Dutchy and city, 27.
Bielki, Dutchy and city, 35.
Boris Galliczin, Czar Peter's governor, 50, 58.
Boris Godenow, Czar, 3.
Brancovan, hospodar of Walachia, 238.
Bruce, General, 266.
Bulgaria, Kingdom of, 38.

C

- Calish, battle of, 161.

Cam-

- Campredon, M. 325.
 Cantemir, hospodar of Moldavia, 238, 243.
 Carelia, province of, 123.
 Casan, Kingdom and city, 39.
 Caspian Sea, chart of, 336.
 Catharine Erb-Magden, her story, 140, &c. Loved by the Czar, 142. and much governs him, 143. Saves him and his army at the Pruth, 241. Delivered of a son, 273. Declar'd successor to the Czar, 337. Crown'd, 339. Declar'd Empress, 344.
 Catharine, St. order of, instituted, 265.
 Charles XII. his character, 116. reduces the Danes, 127. beats the Russians at Narva, 128. beats the Saxons, 132. his infatuation, 136, 144, 253. laborious marches, 159, 171, 174. enters Saxony, 160. deposes Augustus, *ib.* &c. Cruelty to Patkul, 162, &c. leaves Saxony, 170. in danger, 172, 177. threatens the Czar, 173. wins a battle, 175. in distress, 179, 188, 189. lays siege to Pultowa, 190. attacks the Czar, 192. defeated, 193. escapes into Turkey, 198. Remains of his army defeated, 211. Intrigues at the Porte. 233, 247. disappointed at the river Pruth, 243. returns home, 262. has new enemies, 268. killed, 285.
 Clergy, Russian, 9.
 Columna, city of, 30.
 Condora, province of, 27.
 Council of State in Russia, 15.
 Courts of Justice, 15.
 Couvanski, president of the Strelitzes, 45, 48.
 Crim-Tartars, account of, 53, 94, 95.
 Cronslot built, 148.
 Czar, his arms, 13. Authority, *ib.* 22. Forces, 15. Alliances, 17. See Peter.
 Czarewitz, Alexis, born, 66. his mother repudiated, *ib.* married, 245. has a son born, 271. his Princess dies, *ib.* &c. Account of his crimes and trial, 290—312. Death and funeral, 313.
 Czarapa-

INDEX

Czarapata, battle of, 177.

Czeremetoff, Prince, 72, 74, 136, 137, 155, 174.

Czeremisses, country of, 29.

Czernikow, Dutchy and city, 36.

D

Demetrius, 4. the first counterfeit, 5. the second, 8.

Denmark, King of, why he broke with the Swedes,

124. his various successes, &c. 127, 207, 231,

232, 250, 254, 274, 276.

Dolhoruki, Prince, in Poland, 166.

Don, river, 31.

Dorpt, described, 121. taken, 199.

Dwina, province of, 25.

E

Ehrenchild, Rear-Admiral, 259, 260.

Elbing taken, 226.

Embassies, two odd ones, 269.

Embeck river, battle there, 137.

Esthonia, province of, 120.

F

Fravenstad, battle of, 159.

G

Gadebush, battle of, 250.

Galliczin, Prince, his history, 51—57. See Boris.

---Another, 195, 257.

Gemarthoff, battle of, 155.

Goltz, General, 188.

Gordon, General, 75, 101.

Gortz, baron, his scheme, 277, 316. How to be
executed on England, 279, detected, 280, 316.

Gottorp, globe of, 267.

Governors, Russian, 104.

Great Britain, King of, 208, 317.

H

Habits, Russian, reformed, 107.

Hollowzin, battle of, 175.

Holstein, Duke of, his history, 340. Betrothed to
the Czar's daughter, 341.

- Jarossaw, Dutchy and city, 32.
 Jefferies, Mr. 318.
 Igor, Sovereign of Russia, 2.
 Ingria, province of, 122.
 Inquisition, grand, 265, 284. Relating to the Czar-
 ewitz, 289. Persons involved in it, 300.
 John Alexiowitz, Czar with Peter, 46. Married,
 48. Death and character, 65.
 John Basiliowitz I. 3. II. *ibid.*
 Juhorski, province, 127.
 Kalmuck Tartars, 39.
 Kam of Crim Tartary, 233, 237.
 Kargapol, province, 26.
 Kasikermeen, besieged, 72. taken, 74.
 Kexholm, Province and town of, 123, taken,
 231.
 Kiow, city of, 37. Palatine of, 233.
 Kropotock, General, 210.
 Lapland Russian, 25.
 Learning forbid in Russia, 14.
 Le Fort, M. his remarkable history, 59---63.
 more of his character, and actions, 67, 68, 84.
 made first ambassador in the Czar's travels, 85.
 enters Amsterdam, 90. his death and funeral,
 114.
 Leuwenhaupt, General, 155, 179, &c. 196, 212.
 Litland, province of, 122.
 Livonia described, 118, &c. the Czar's claim
 thereon, 119.
 Lezno, battle of, 180, &c.
 Loppia, province of, 42.
 Lucomoria, province of, 42.
 Marienberg taken, 140.
 Massacre in Moscow, 46.
 Mattueoff, M. de, arrested in London, 213, &c.
 Mazzeppa, the hettman, 53, 55, 185, 186, 187.
 Meck-

I N D E X.

- Mecklenburgh, Duke of, 207.
 Menzikoff, Alexander, his origin and rise, 68, 69,
 70. Actions, 186, 192, 196, 250, 265, 278,
 328.
 Myderfield, General, 161.
 Michael Fedrowitz Romanow, elected Czar, 110.
 Miloslauski, a traitor, 48, 83.
 Miseriski, Prince, 324.
 Mittaw surprised, 155.
 Mnizeck, George, palatine of Sendomir, 6.
 Morduates, country of, 29.
 Moscow, city of, 30.
 Muscovy, the name, 2. See Russian Proper, 30.
 Muscovites, their character, 17, 23. Religion, 18.
 ceremonies, 19. fasts, *ib.* Easter, 20. Saints,
ib. funerals, 21. Marriages, *ib.* 107. Subjec-
 tion, 22. Instances of their stupidity, 111.
 Myr-Maghmud, his history, 333, &c.

N

- Naraskins, their ministry, 58, 59.
 Narva described, 121. invested, 126. battle of,
 128. taken, 148.
 Neutrality, treaty of, 226.
 Neustadt, peace of, 325.
 Nogai Tartars, 38.
 Norris, Sir John, 275, 283, 285, 318, 321, 323.
 Nostitz, Major General, 226.
 Notteburg, city of, 123.
 Novogrod, Great, Dutchy and city, 26. Little, 32.
 Nyflot taken, 258.

O

- Obdora, province, 28.
 Orleans, Duke of, 280, 282.
 Ormond, Duke of, 283.
 Otrophia, the counterfeit, Demetrius, 5.

P

- Parapet, rolling, 75.
 Patkul, count, his history, 120, 158, 162, &c.
 Patriarch of Muscovy, 181, 182.
 Perewoloczna, surrender there, 196.

Per-

Permia, province and city, 28.

Pernaw, city of, 120 taken, 231.

Persian ambassadors, 252, 337.

Persia, affairs of, 333.----338.

Peter Alexiowitz, born, 44. proclaimed Czar, ib.

retires to the Troitski monastery, 47. His bad

education, 48. Antipathy to water, 49. cured,

50. Married, 54. begins to govern, ib. Conspir-

ed against, 45, 55, 81, 158, reconciled to his

brother, 57. takes notice of M. Le Fort. 61.

Enters under him, 63. forms a new corps of sol-

diers, ib. 64. conceives the idea of a marine,

65. 71, 79. appears before Asoph, 72. repulsed,

73. Besieges it again, 75. takes it. 76. Beats the

Turkish fleet, ib. resolves to travel, 79. enters

Moscow in triumph, 80. Obliges his subjects to

build ships, ib. and the young nobility to travel,

81. Successful against the Tartars, 84. Affronted

at Riga, 86. promises to support Augustus, 86.

entertained by the elector of Brandenburg, 87.

Goes to Dantzick and Berlin, 88. to Holland,

89 Applies. himself to ship-building, 91. invited

to England by King William, 92. Sends over

workmen to Moscow, 93. Hears of a victory o-

ver the Tartars, 94. comes to England, 95. Ef-

teems the marquis of Caermarthen, 96. Resides

at Deptford, ib. Manner of spending his time, 97.

Shewn a mock engagement, ib. Takes several

English away with him, 98. Called home by an

insurrection, 99. Begins his reformation. 103.

in his revenue, 105. in the habits of the people,

107. retrenches their beards, 108. restrains the

Patriarch, ib. abolishes his authority, 109. les-

sens the boyars retinue, 110, reforms the Rus-

sian year, 112. regulates the army and Navy,

113, institutes the order of St. Andrew, 115.

enters on a war with Sweden, 104. 116, &c.

motives of it, 117, &c. hears of the defeat of

his army at Narva, 130. makes new prepara-

tions, 131. Has an interview with the King of

Po-

Poland, *ib.* 134, 140. Sends troops into Livonia and Lithuania, 133. his successes, 136. invites people into his dominions, 139. falls in love with Catharine Erb-Magden, 142. once jealous of her, 144. builds Petersburg, 145, &c. sends an army into Poland, 152. enters it himself, 154. made a colonel in his own army, 157. Goes to Muscovy, 158. Writes on the abdication of Augustus 164, 165, 166, 167. Obtains officers of the Emperor, 169. Withdraws into Lithuania, 170. Goes to Moscow, 171. retreats before the K. of Sweden, 173. Wins the battle of Lezno, 180, &c. appears before Pultowa, 191. Beats the K. of Sweden, 193. notifies his victory, 198. his moderation, 202. offers peace after victory, 203. but obliged to take other measures, 204. arrives at Lublin, 208. Meets Augustus at Thorn, 209. and the K. of Prussia at Marienwerder, 210. Enters Moscow in triumph, 212. Why he led the Swedish prisoners in the procession, *ib.* Writes to Queen Anne about the affront put upon his ambassador, 214, &c. answer to the Queen's letter, 225. Rise of his war with the Turks, 233. prepares for it, 234. his declaration, 235. Marches to Moldavia, 238. successful at first, 239. fights the Turks at the river Pruth, 240. concludes a peace, 242. refused a seat in the college of the empire, 246. has new broils with the Turks, 246, 248. publicly married to Catharine, 249. Takes Frederickstadt, 254. returns home, 255. Makes a descent in Finland, and takes Abo, 256. Fits out a great fleet, 258. gains a victory at sea, 259. for which he triumphs, 260, and is made a vice-admiral, *ib.* Speech to the old Russians, 263. orders the women to travel, 264. institutes the order of St. Catharine, 265. inquires into the crimes of his ministry, *ib.* Mediates between Augustus and his kingdom, 271. goes into Germany, 273.

Has an interview with two Kings, 274. at Copenhagen, *ib.* sounds the coast of Denmark and Sweden, 275. Commands the fleets of four nations, *ib.* lays aside the design on Schonen, *ib.* and why, 276. Treats the King of Sweden with respect, 277. Comes into the scheme of baron Gortz, 279. excuses himself concerning it, 281. arrives in Holland, 280. Goes to Paris, 281. Visits the academy of sciences, *ib.* His proposal to the D. of Orleans, 282. returns home, 283. makes new regulations, 284. studies the geography of his Empire, 286. The use he makes of this knowledge, 287, 288. employs miners, 289. his manifesto, letters, &c. relating to his son, 290, &c. Part of his character, 299. defended with regard to his son, 314. complains of false reports concerning that affair, 315. sees himself abandoned, 319. publishes a manifesto, *ibid.* makes a descent on Sweden, *ib.* His fleet retreats, 321. His propositions for peace rejected, *ib.* Seizes the English merchants, 322. His resident sent home, *ib.* gains an advantage at sea, 323. Makes advances towards a peace, 324. concludes it, 325. celebrates it, 326. complimented with new titles, 327. Fines several great men, 328. banishes the jesuits, 329. sets up assemblies, *ib.* embarrassed with Poland, *ib.* sets the English against their ministry, 330. Gets his Imperial title acknowledged, 331. Makes new regulations, *ib.* Enters Moscow in triumph, 332. imposes an oath regarding the succession, *ib.* complains of outrages from the Allies of Persia, 334. prepares for war, *ib.* which alarms the Turks, *ib.* conquers Daghestan and Schirvan, 335. Takes a new chart of the Caspian Sea, 336, which he sends to the academy in France, *ib.* makes a treaty with Schah Thamas, 337. appoints a successor by will, 339. who proves to be his consort, *ibid.* Crowns her, *ibid.* Gives his daughter to the D. of Holstein, 342. Seized with a strangury

I N D E X.

- a strangury 42. Dies, 343. View of his many establishments, 344. Description of his person, 349. Character, ib.
- Peter Alexiowitz, II. born, 271.
- Peter Petrowitz, born, 273.
- Petersburgh, building and description of, 145, &c. 266.
- Pflug, General, 183. Piper, Count, his fate, 225.
- Plescow, dutchy and city, 26.
- Poland, forces of, 134. Affairs of, ib. 152, 154, 165, 166, 167, 169. 328.
- Poniatowski, Count, 233, 241, 243.
- Prussia, King of, 210. 267, 274, 317.
- Pruth, battle of, 240. peace of, 242.
- Pulkona, battle of, 256.
- Pultowa, siege of, 190, battle of, 192, &c. Reflections on it, 200. a great advantage from it, 224.
- R
- Renchild, General, 159, 194, 203, 212.
- Repnin, Prince, 175.
- Reschow, dutchy and city, 34.
- Retufari, island of, 145, 148, 149.
- Revel described, 121. taken, 231.
- Reza, Dutchy and city, 31.
- Riga described, 12. taken, 229.
- Rivers, junction of, 23. Romanzoff, M. 323, 324.
- Rostow, dutchy and city, 24.
- Russia, the name, 2. Constitution of, 13. Forces of, 15. Extent, 24. in Europe, ib. Climate of, 42. Product, 43. Advantageous situation, 286.
- Russians. See Muscovites.

S

- Samocides, Tartars, 41.
- Schaffirof, vice-chancellor, 242.
- Schein, General, 94.
- Schlippenbach, General, 136, 192.
- Severia, dutchy and city, 36.
- Schullemburg, General, 159.
- Siberia, kingdom of, 40.
- Sickler's conspiracy, 81, &c.
- Sinboiarcks, Russian soldiers, 16.

Smo-

I N D E X.

Smolensko, dutchy and city, 35.
 Stanislaus, 136, 170, 171.
 Steinbock, General, 250—254.
 Stralsund besieged, 245. taken, 268.
 Sweden, see Charles. Queen of, 309, 322.
 Sophia, Princess, her intrigues, 45, 56. Authority,
 48. shut up in a monastery, 57.
 Strelitzes, Russian soldiers, 16. rebel, 45. submit,
 47. rebel again, 99. beat, 101. extirpated, 102.
 Suatisslaus, sovereign of Russia, 2.
 Suiski, Basil, Czar, 8.
 Susdal, dutchy and city, 33.

T

Tartars, often in broils with the Russians, 270.
 Tartary, Muscovite, 37.
 Thekelavitau, his conspiracy, 55.
 Theodore I. Czar, 3. II. 12.
 Tingoeses, Tartars, 42.
 Tobolski, city of, 40.
 Tonningen taken, 254.
 Travelling forbid in Russia, 14. commanded, 81.
 Turks, affairs of the, 72—76, 233—242. 246.
 248. 334, 336, 337, 338.
 Tweer, dutchy and city, 34.

U

Veronitz, city of, 31, 114.
 Viatka, province and city, 29.
 Uladislaus, elected Czar, 9.
 Usbeck Tartars, embassy from, 264.
 Ustioug, province and city, 28.

W

Weber, M. 285. Wesselowski M. 322.
 Whitworth; Mr. his extraordinary embassy, 217.
 Wiburg, city of, 123. besieged, 168. taken, 228.
 Wismar taken, 268.
 Wolfenbittel, Princess of, 245, 271, &c.
 Wolga, the river, 35.
 Wolodimer, sovereign of Russia, ---2. dutchy and
 city of, 32.
 Wologda, province and city, 26.
 Worotin, dutchy of, 30.





